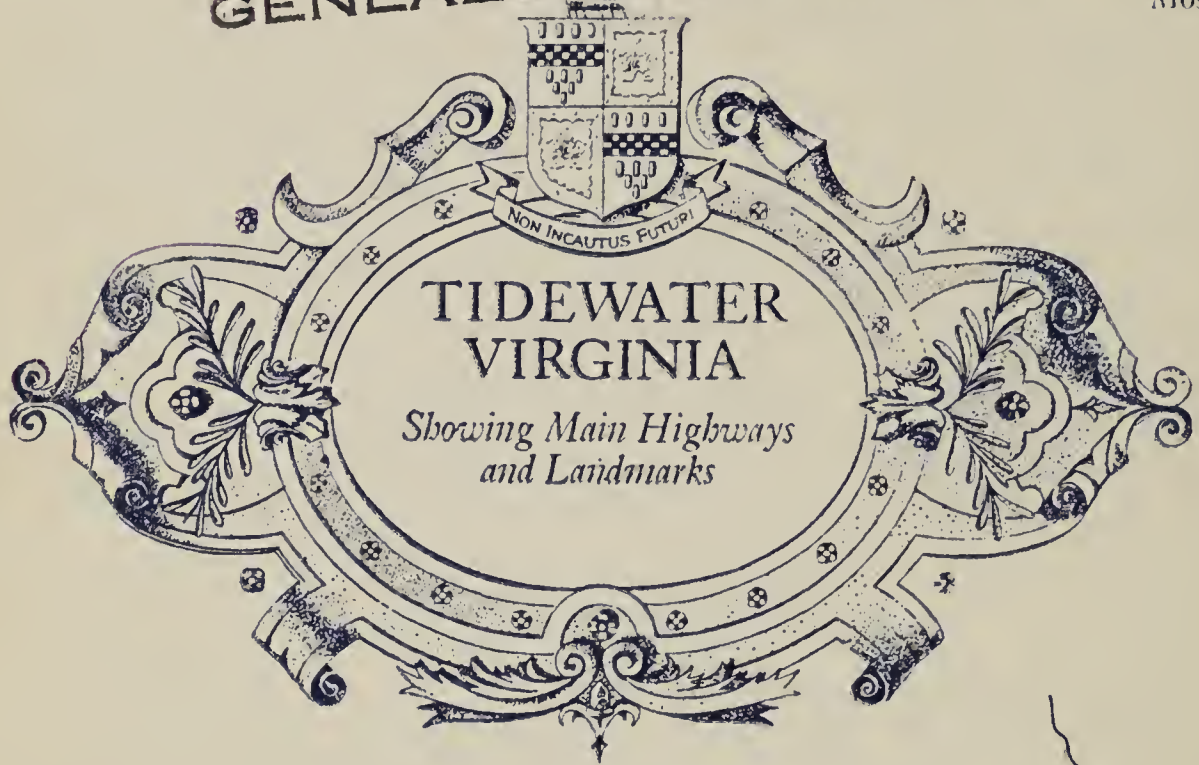


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LEE CHRONICLE



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Arms of Lee, of Cotton Hall
County Salop.

LEE CHRONICLE



Studies of the Early Generations
of the Lees of Virginia

by

CAZENOVE GARDNER LEE, JR.

Compiled and Edited by

DOROTHY MILLS PARKER



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1957

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“I have considered the days of old,
and the years that are past.”

Psalm 77:5,
The Book of Common Prayer

FOREWORD

THIS BOOK is a series of studies concerning the early generations of the Lees in Virginia, drawn from articles written by the late Cazenove Gardner Lee, Jr., antiquarian of the family, and published between 1922 and 1939 in the *Magazine of the Society of the Lees of Virginia*, of which he was the editor. The Society is composed of descendants of Colonel Richard Lee, emigrant from England to Virginia in 1640. Among its purposes have been to bring the family archives up to date, to acquaint the members with this information and to make it available, along with data of general historical import, to interested outsiders. Cazenove Lee, through his original research and his collection and publication of old manuscripts, letters, deeds, recollections, and Bible records, made a valuable contribution to these archives, and at his death the Society voted to assure his writings a wider circulation by having them put into book form as a memorial to him.

It must be remembered that these writings were prepared as separate magazine articles over a period of seventeen years, with consequent lack of continuity, and much repetition. The editor's task has been to correct or delete those parts that later research has proven irrelevant or obsolete, to extract the most valuable substance from the remainder, to supply the necessary additional information, and to weave it all together into a narrative of chronological order and cohesion. In the condensation and rewording of text that this frequently entailed, every effort has been made to preserve Mr. Lee's pungent humor and refreshing style.

Several authoritative books have been written about the Lees, each from a different angle. These are Edmund Jennings Lee's *Lee of Virginia* (1895), Douglas Southall Freeman's monumental biography *Robert E. Lee* (1934-35), and Burton J. Hendrick's *The Lees of Virginia* (1935). The first is primarily genealogical, containing sketches of one hundred twenty-six persons descended from Colonel

Richard Lee, while the second, being essentially a biography, does not go into the early antecedents of the family; the third presents the Lees in their historical context and is of special significance for the portrayal of Thomas, William, and Arthur Lee as national figures.

Like each of these three, this volume has its unique place, for it deals primarily with the first four generations of Lees in Virginia, and in particular with the ancestry and properties of the first Richard Lee, the latter drawn from research not generally available when the other books were written, and brought up to date by information which has come to light even subsequent to the death of Cazenove Lee in 1945. But while it contains historical, biographical, and genealogical information it is not to be regarded as a complete record from any standpoint, for material is voluminous concerning some of the figures and scanty about others, with attention to contemporary events varied accordingly. It has been compiled from a collection of studies and sketches in which Mr. Lee sought to picture some of the remarkable men of the Lee family against the background of their times, and to stress their part in the political, social, cultural, and spiritual life of this country, with particular emphasis on those whom the historians have neglected. And like many authors, he wrote about the ones who most interested him: Richard Lee the Founder, Thomas Lee the builder of Stratford, and two of Thomas' famous sons—Richard Henry Lee, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and William Lee, a Revolutionary diplomat.

These portions comprise Parts One through Four, in each of which a different aspect of the subject is stressed. The writings about the first Richard Lee deal with his ancestry and properties rather than his political career; the material on Thomas Lee has mostly to do with his early land transactions and with Stratford and the people who lived there; the political career of Richard Henry Lee takes precedence over his private life, while the personal side of William Lee is revealed through his letters, to the exclusion of any very lengthy account of his diplomatic adventuring. Scant space is given to the other sons of Thomas Lee or to his father Richard Lee II, himself an eminent man in his own generation and perhaps the greatest scholar the family has produced. Relatively little appears about "Light Horse Harry" Lee, his son, Robert E. Lee, or others of the Leesylvania line, since the subject matter is limited to the earlier generations. How-

ever, Robert E. Lee is the subject of frequent mention as his career touches upon the lives of his forebears or his contemporaries.

Part Five has to do with the Ludwells, Corbins, Washingtons, and other colonial families intermarried with the Lees. Part Six consists of hitherto unpublished recollections by the daughter and granddaughter of Ludwell Lee of Belmont, himself a son of Richard Henry Lee. In Part Seven will be found the delightful accounts of the Lee Society's pilgrimages to the old houses, churches, graveyards, and other places associated with the Lees and these related families. Included here are impressions of one of these trips especially written for the *Magazine* by Rachel Hoge Savage.

Augmenting the text are maps of the Northern Neck and of the Rappahannock and York River sections, drawn to Mr. Lee's specifications; a plat of Stratford; and eleven original maps by the author himself, which have been worked over and enlarged by the editor, who has also drawn up a map showing the extent of Colonel Richard Lee's land holdings. A colored line drawing of the Lee arms and thirty photographic plates, some of them never before published, complete the illustrations. In addition, the editor has compiled genealogical charts of Colonel Richard Lee's English pedigree and of the Virginia Lees.

For the sake of continuity and focus, a certain amount of valuable material had to be excised from the body of the text and placed in the notes or appendix, including explanatory notes and addenda, and pertinent information unknown to the author at the time of the last issue of the *Magazine* in 1939.

In putting this book together the aforementioned works of Hendrick and Lee were consulted in regard to dates, wills, public records, and supplementary data. The assistance of Dr. Ludwell Montague, historian of the Lee family, who reviewed the manuscript, has been invaluable. His current monograph on Colonel Richard Lee in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is the most authoritative and comprehensive account of the Emigrant yet to appear. Acknowledgment is likewise due to Eleanor Lee Templeman, genealogist of the Lee Society and to E. Griffith Dodson, Clerk of the Virginia House of Delegates, for many helpful suggestions. Above all, grateful acknowledgment is made to Dorothy Vandegrift Lee, widow of the author. The original idea for such a book was hers and her vision and faith have guided it to completion.

The finished volume is addressed to the Lee family, to students of history, to librarians, genealogists, and members of patriotic societies and, beyond these specific groups, to the general public, because we believe that the story of the Lees and the history of this country are one and inseparable.

DOROTHY MILLS PARKER
Editor

Washington, D. C.

1957

A PREFATORY NOTE

ON

THE LEE SOCIETY

THE SOCIETY OF THE LEES OF VIRGINIA was organized in December, 1921, with the Hon. Blair Lee as president, Cazenove G. Lee, Jr., secretary, and Lawrence R. Lee, treasurer, and the objectives of the Society were summarized as follows:

To draw the scattered members of the family together and through meetings, social gatherings, pilgrimages, and commemorative exercises to further a deeper feeling of fellowship among them; to assist in the preservation of those ancient burial places now lying neglected and forgotten; to aid in the compilation of data of family, state and national interest; to promote a greater knowledge of our ancestors' services to their country, and to make better Americans of ourselves and of our children.

Through the years these objectives have been carried out in various ways. June 4, 1925, saw the realization of the first of them, with the dedication on that day of a Lee Memorial pew in the Chapel at Valley Forge. In this beautiful Gothic church, built as a national shrine to George Washington, are memorials to Revolutionary figures, and this pew, situated on the right-hand side in the choir, commemorates those of the Lee family who served their country during that period. The pew is emblazoned with the Lee arms in the heraldic colors, between the words "Lee of Virginia" and "Anno Domini 1641" * in Old English lettering illuminated in blue, white, and red, with capitals of gold and silver. On the left are listed the names:

* Since the dedication of this memorial it has been definitely established that Colonel Richard Lee the Emigrant came to Virginia in 1640, perhaps earlier. See Part One, Chapter I.

To the memory of

Richard Henry Lee	Richard Lee
Francis Lightfoot Lee	Major John Lee
Thomas Ludwell Lee	William Lee
Thomas Sim Lee	Arthur Lee
Colonel Henry Lee	Ludwell Lee
Lt. Col. Henry Lee	Richard Lee
Captain Philip Richard Francis Lee	

To the right is this inscription:

Patriots and Statesmen
 Plenipotentiaries and Soldiers
 Signers of the Declaration of
 Independence and
 Friends of Washington

They devoted their lives, gave their fortunes and
 shed their blood in the service of their country.

Several branches of the Lee family are represented here. Stratford contributed the five celebrated brothers: Francis Lightfoot, Thomas Ludwell, William, Arthur, and Richard Henry Lee, as well as the latter's son, Ludwell. Members of the Leesylvania line were Colonel Henry Lee and his son and namesake, Lt. Col. Henry Lee, renowned in history as "Light Horse Harry." Major John Lee was a descendant of Hancock Lee of Ditchley, and Squire Richard Lee came from Lee Hall. His cousin of the same name and title, Squire Richard Lee of Blenheim, was a scion of the Maryland house, and father of Philip Richard Francis Lee; Thomas Sim Lee, twice governor of the state, was also of this line. These men, in addition to their patriotic and public service, lived useful and honorable lives in their various communities and worshiped in the little churches of Virginia and Maryland.

Another project, begun in 1922 and completed in 1933, was the restoration of the old Lee cemetery in Burnt House Field. No actual funds of the Society were used in this undertaking, for the officers themselves purchased the plot of land enclosing the graveyard and raised the money for the restoration from individuals both within and without the family. This old burial ground is located on the "Machotick properties" in Westmoreland which descended from Colonel Lee to his son, Richard Lee II. There the latter had his home and there he

and his wife, Laetitia Corbin, were buried. In the same graveyard are the remains of their son, Thomas Lee of Stratford, and Hannah Ludwell, his wife, and their grandson, Richard Henry Lee, and his two wives. Thomas Lee's tombstone, which for some unknown reason had long been at Stratford, was taken to Mount Pleasant and placed on his grave. Although every letter on the gravestone of Richard and Laetitia Lee was still legible after well over two centuries, it was recut for the sake of preservation. A memorial slab was placed on the long-unmarked grave of Richard Henry Lee, and the restoration completed by the erection of a high brick wall around the cemetery.

In 1929, the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation was organized for the purchase and restoration of Stratford Hall and its maintenance as a shrine in memory of General Lee. The Society was, of course, greatly interested in this work, and voted to support it and to render all possible assistance, which it has consistently done. In the summer of 1932 Mrs. Jeffry Montague came to Washington to copy the original portraits of Thomas and Hannah Lee in the possession of the author, and on October 16 these were presented to the Foundation in the name of the Lee family, before a large and friendly gathering in the Great Hall at Stratford. Funds were appropriated in April, 1933, for a survey and topographical map of the plantation, and nine hundred copies of the map donated to the Foundation in August of that year.

Within the shadow of the old church tower on Jamestown Island rest the ashes of William Lee, onetime alderman of London and diplomatic emissary of the Colonies during the Revolution. His grave once had a tombstone but it had disappeared many years ago. On October 16, 1936, the Society placed a memorial slab on his resting place and also marked the adjacent grave of his son, William Ludwell Lee.

In the meantime Cazenove Lee had been at work for two years on William Lee's letter books, which contained copies of his correspondence during the years he lived abroad, and which are now in the archives at Stratford, the gift of Mrs. William J. Boothe of Alexandria, a descendant. Mr. Lee made typewritten copies of some seven hundred letters, and an index and card file of the persons and items mentioned therein. About ten years prior to this Miss Lucy Brown Beale had completed another work of research, financed in part by the Society and partly by one of its members. This was a survey of the Westmoreland Court Order Books from 1750 to 1800, which

yielded fifty pages, some 2,000 references, to members of the Lee family.

Old Christ Church in Alexandria has been attended and served by the Lees for well over a century and a half, and more of them rest in its graveyard than in any other place in Virginia. In 1936, forty-two members of the Society presented the church with a new silver communion tray in memory of Edmund I. Lee (1772-1843), vestryman and warden over a period of thirty years. It was through his legal ability and devoted interest that the parish was able to preserve the glebe lands and ultimately to exchange them for the present rectory. The Society has also contributed to the rehabilitation and upkeep of the church cemetery, along with the old family graveyards of Ditchley, Mount Pleasant, and others.

The year 1939 saw the completion of the repair and cataloguing of the Lee and Ludwell manuscripts at the Virginia Historical Society headquarters in Richmond. This priceless heritage from colonial days, willed to the Society by Cassius F. Lee of Alexandria in 1892, has now been placed in steel filing cases, where it will be protected and at the same time available for reference. At the same place are the recently presented photostats of the deeds and records pertaining to Colonel William LeHardy's research in England during 1939 and 1949-51. This eminent British genealogist was commissioned by the Lee Society to continue the research on Colonel Richard Lee begun there in 1926 by H. Edward Forrest at the direction of members of the family in Philadelphia. Also in Richmond, in the old hall of the House of Delegates in the State Capitol, is the marble bust of Richard Henry Lee placed there by the Lee Society in 1954.

Copies of portraits of Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and William and Arthur Lee were given to Stratford in 1951 and 1952.

To these achievements of the Lee Society is now added the compilation under its aegis of this book, thus making available within the compass of a single volume the final result of Cazenove Lee's years of exploration into the history of the Lees of Virginia.

THE EDITOR

“There may be, and there often is, indeed, a regard for ancestry which nourishes only a weak pride. . . . But there is also a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors which elevates the character and improves the heart. Next to the sense of religious duty and moral feeling, I hardly know what should bear the stronger obligation on a liberal and enlightened mind than a consciousness of alliance with excellence which is departed; and a consciousness, too, that in its acts and conduct and even in its sentiments and thoughts, it may be actively operating in the happiness of those who come after it.”

—Daniel Webster, from the 200th Anniversary Address,
at Plymouth, Massachusetts, December 22, 1820

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THE FOUNDER OF A FAMILY

Part One

THE FOUNDER OF A FAMILY

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COLONEL RICHARD LEE

?-1664

Emigrant to Virginia in 1640
Clerk of the Quarter Court
Attorney General of Virginia
High Sheriff of York County
Burgess for York
Secretary of State
Member of the Council

Chapter I

THE PEDIGREE

I. THE LEES OF ENGLAND

COLONEL RICHARD LEE (Plate I), first of the family in Virginia, came out from England sometime in 1640, and records show that he was holding office soon after his arrival.¹ He acquired much land, he held many high offices, and in 1651 his elevation to the Council, the supreme governing body of the colony, marked him as one of the great men of colonial Virginia. Until recently his birthplace and immediate parentage were not definitely known, though a number of documents and records attested to his English origin. One of the earliest of these references was the inscription on a silver pint cup, given by his eldest son John to Queen's College, Oxford, and still to be seen in that place² (Plate II). The cup bears the date of John's matriculation, 1658, and states that he was the son of Richard Lee of Morton Regis, Shropshire.

Shropshire is one of the western counties of England, situated about midway between the Scottish border and the English Channel. It is bounded on the west by Wales; not far to the north is Liverpool, and nearby on the east lies Birmingham. In the center of Shropshire is Shrewsbury, the county seat, almost surrounded by the river Severn, and nearby are clustered the ancient houses, hamlets, churches, and other landmarks associated with the Lees of old England.

About six miles south of Shrewsbury and within a mile or so of each other are Langley, Pitchford, and the remains of the ancient castle of Acton Burnell, near which is the early English church of St. Mary, damaged by later "restorations" but still containing a fine group of monuments of the Lees in the left transept. Here is the

great canopied tomb of Sir Richard Lee (1591) and his wife, and the effigies of his three sons and nine daughters; nearby are the tombs of Sir Humphrey Lee (1632), his wife, Margaret Corbet, and their children. All that remains of Langley, associated with the Lees since 1300, is the stone battlemented gateway dating from the time of Henry VIII. Pitchford Hall, which has all the charm of unspoiled antiquity, was built by William Oteley in 1473; here lived Dorothy Oteley who married Thomas Lee of Coton Hall.

Some four miles to the north of Shrewsbury are Lea Hall and Roden and a little farther on is Shawbury Hall, seat of Giles de Erdington in the reign of Henry III. A few miles distant are Stanton and Moreton Corbet, a ruined castellated mansion of Tudor architecture, begun by Sir Richard Corbet (1606) and never completed. About twenty miles southeast of Shrewsbury and four miles from Bridgenorth are Coton Hall (Plate VII), in the manor of Nordley Regis, and Alveley Church (Plate IV). There is also a Ley Hall nearby.³

Most of these old estates were once part of the broad acreage which formed the patrimony of the Lees of Shropshire; the other families bore the same relation to them that the Corbins, Blands, Ludwells, and others, in a later day, did to the Virginia Lees.

The pedigree of the English house registered at the Heralds' College is one of the oldest in England, going back to the Norman, Reyner de Lega, Sheriff of Shropshire about 1200 and the first to bear the fesse and billets of the Lee arms. The surname itself (Lega, Lege, Leigh, Le, Lea, Ley, Lee) is of Saxon origin, deriving from the "lea" under Pimhill, their original Shropshire estate.⁴

In the old days no one bore arms unless he was entitled to them; likewise, the bearing of a particular coat was indisputable proof of descent, and any impostor assuming a well-known coat would have been detected at once. The Heralds made periodic visits to various parts of the country to examine the right of persons to bear arms, these Courts or Visitations taking place about every thirty years, and there was no appeal against their decisions, which contained legal evidence. At the first Visitation, in 1569, any person who could prove that his ancestors bore a certain coat prior to the Battle of Agincourt (1415) was "allowed" his claim to those arms. By this time all the Lee estates had been consolidated through intermarriage into two branches,

represented by Richard Lee of Langley and Humphrey Lee of Coton, both of which were entitled to the arms of Reyner de Lega. These arms as certified to them at this first Visitation are given below in the heraldic terms:

Arms: Gules, a fesse chequy or and azure between ten billets argent, four in chief, and three, two and one in base. [On a red shield a broad horizontal bar composed of three rows of alternating blue and gold squares between ten silver oblong figures, four in the top part of the shield and six in the lower, arranged three, two, and one.]

Crest: On a staff raguly lying fesseways a squirrel sejant proper, cracking a nut (or acorn); from the dexter end of the staff a hazel (or oak) branch vert, fructed or. [On a horizontal staff or branch, a squirrel sitting, depicted in its natural color, cracking a nut or acorn. From the right end of the staff a green hazel or oak branch, bearing golden fruit.]

Motto: "Non Incautus Futuri." [Sometimes written "Ne Incautus Futuri," and translated "Not Unmindful of the Future."]

The Coton branch has nearly always adhered to this form, while the Langley Lees have sometimes borne the fesse "counter compone" (containing two rows of squares instead of three).⁵ Both houses were entitled to quarter their arms with those of Astley, through the marriage in 1385 of Roger Lee to Margaret Astley of Nordley Regis, of which Coton was the seat. Their two sons, Robert and John, became the heads, respectively, of the Langley and Coton lines. The former sometimes used additional quarterings, Coton only the Astley, described as "azure a cinqfoil pierced ermine within a bordure engrailed of the second" (on a blue field a pierced five-leaved figure, within a scalloped ermine border).

These were the arms borne by the Virginia Lees, although the Astley quartering does not appear until the fourth generation. Thus the question logically arises as to their connection with the Lees of Shropshire.

2. THE SHROPSHIRE ORIGIN

The cup given to Queen's College by Colonel Richard Lee's son provides us with the first record of his origin and his claim to a Shropshire lineage. The inscription reads:

COLL. REGI: OXON

D.D. Johanis Lee Natus in Capohowasick
 Wickacomoco in Virginia America Filius
 Primogenitus Richardi Lee Chiliarcha
 Oriundi De Morton Regis in Agro Salopiensi
 1658

This states that the cup (Plate II) was the gift of John Lee, born in Virginia (near the Indian settlement of Capohowasick Wickacomoco), oldest son of Colonel Richard Lee of Morton Regis, County Salop (the Latin name for Shropshire). The arms of the college and those of the Shropshire Lees are engraved just above.

More evidence is furnished by John Gibbon, uncle of the historian, on page 156 of a book entitled *Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam*:⁶

A great part of Anno 1651 till February the year following I lived in Virginia, being most hospitably entertained by the Honourable Colonel Richard Lee, sometime Secretary of State there. . . . Neither will I omit his arms, being Gul. a Fess chequy or, Bl. between eight billets arg., being descended from the Lees of Shropshire who sometimes bore eight billets, sometimes ten, and sometimes Fesse countercompone (as I have seen by our office records).

Gibbon was evidently a close friend of Colonel Lee. He was also an officer of the Heralds' College and therefore well able to vouch for Lee's ancestry.

Still another contemporary affirmation of Lee's use of these arms is found in the E. D. N. Alphabet at the College. While no authority on the right to bear arms, this work is probably the only account of those in use at that time:

Salop—Lee—G. a fesse chequy Or and Az. betw. 8 billets Arg. Colonel Ric^d Lee Secretary of State in Virginia Anno 1659. Descended from the Lees in Shropshire (who sometimes bore eight billets, sometimes ten, and sometimes Fesse counter compone).

Colonel Lee's son Hancock left a will, and in this will he bequeathed a sum of money for a communion cup to Wicomico Parish in Virginia, of which he was a vestryman. This cup (Plate II) may be seen there today, and on it, with the date 1711, is engraved the same arms shown on the pint cup and described in Gibbon and the Alphabet. It must

be remembered, however, that this was merely the generic arms of the Lees of Shropshire, without the Astley quartering peculiar to the Coton family or the variations of the Langley house. According to these records the Virginia Lees might have been descended from either.

Nor did the tombstone of Colonel Lee's son, Richard II, clarify the issue. On the contrary, it confused it even more. This tombstone (Plate III) in the old Mount Pleasant graveyard in Westmoreland County was erected after the second Richard's death in 1714, and here as on John Lee's cup their father is described as being of an ancient family of Merton Regis, Shropshire. Here the name appears as Merton rather than Morton. Both spellings, as well as several other variations, are mentioned in county records: Thomas Morton of Houghton, whose daughter Johanna in the sixteenth century married Thomas Lee of Coton; Merton, a village to the north of Shrewsbury, spelled "Merriton" on Camden's map of 1695; the "vill of Morton"; and Moreton Corbet, seat of the Corbet family which intermarried with the Lees. But the puzzle was that nowhere on any map or in any record was the name to be found in combination with the key word "Regis." This convinced the authorities that Nordley Regis, the manor of which Coton Hall was the manor house, must surely be the place, but actual proof was lacking. The question still remained: where in Shropshire did Colonel Lee come from and to which branch of the family did he belong?

In the first part of the nineteenth century much light had been shed on the early history of the Shropshire Lees by Sir William Hardy, Keeper of the Records in the Duchy of Lancaster, who made a special study of the subject, and by the Rev. Robert W. Eyton, author of a comprehensive history of the county. Their work was later supplemented by William Blackstone Lee of Seend, Wiltshire, historian of the English family, who in 1895 contributed "The Lees of Langley and Coton" to Edmund J. Lee's *Lee of Virginia*. Through his study of the findings of Eyton and Hardy he was able to point out certain errors in the early generations of the official pedigree registered at the Heralds' College,⁷ and by his own research to point the way toward the establishment of Colonel Richard Lee's connection with the Shropshire family. Until about twenty-five years ago this information comprised practically all that was known.

Here were the basic facts pertaining to the Coton line, from which

Colonel Richard Lee was thought to be descended. In 1385 Roger Lee of Roden and Stanton married Margaret Astley of Coton and Nordley Regis. About the same time another Roger Lee, of Pimhill and Lea Hall, married Johanna Burnell of Acton Burnell and Langley. Their daughter Petronilla's marriage to Robert Lee, eldest son of the above Roger Lee and Margaret Astley, united all these estates except that of Coton and Nordley Regis, which went to Robert's younger brother, John. From John Lee and his wife, Joyce Packington, was descended four generations later the John Lee of Coton with whom we are concerned, for it was thought that one of his eight sons was father to the Emigrant.⁸ Little was known of any of them except Thomas, the oldest and the heir to Coton. (See his line in *Lee of Virginia*, p. 31.) He married Dorothy Oteley of Pitchford and had six daughters and two sons, Lancelot Lee of Coton and John Lee of Ankerwyke, who comes into this story later. Thomas and his brothers are listed below in their order of birth as given by their father at the Visitation of 1584, together with the few facts William Blackstone Lee was able to unearth about the other seven.

1. *Thomas*: Died 1621. Descendants well known.
 2. *William*: Probably died in childhood, prior to 1605, as he is not mentioned in his father's will of that date. Marked S.P. (no issue) in the Visitation of 1623.
 3. *Edward*: Buried at Alveley Church, Shropshire (Plate IV), June 22, 1616.
 4. *Gilbert*: Lived at Tolleshunt Darcy in Essex. Will proved in 1621, naming brothers, Richard and Josias, and nephew, John (executor), but no children of his own.
 5. *Jasper*: Probably died before 1605, as he, like William, is not mentioned in his father's will.
 6. *Richard*: Baptized October 6, 1563. Entry in the Alveley Church register: "Richard Lee, gent., and Elizabeth Bendy, married October 21st, 1599."
 7. *Ferdinand*: Stated by Joseph Morris to have been baptized at Alveley in 1565/6, to have married twice, and to have died childless. Marked S.P. in the Visitation of 1623.
 8. *Josias*: Baptized December 2, 1569. Nuncupative will proved January 12, 1640 (Royal Peculiar of Bridgenorth), leaving everything to his wife. Marked S.P. in the Visitation of 1623.
-

As will be seen by this, William, Ferdinand, and Josias appear to have died without issue, and Gilbert mentioned no children of his own in his will. This left Edward, Jasper, and Richard, any one of whom could in point of time have been the Emigrant's father. The possibility of Edward or Jasper having heirs seemed slight, for any such children would probably have been remembered in Gilbert's will. But he named only his nephew, John (son of his oldest brother Thomas), and his own brothers, Richard and Josias, the inference being that all the rest were by then dead, without heirs. Of these two, Josias died childless in 1640, leaving everything to his wife. It naturally followed that Richard seemed the one most likely to have been the father of Colonel Richard Lee.

3. THE COTON LINEAGE

It was unfortunate that there seemed to be no surviving record of Colonel Richard Lee's parents or his birthplace. But there were extant a number of things which pointed directly to Coton. The first of these, and probably the oldest, was the beautifully executed wood carving of the Lee arms shown in Plate V.⁹ Just where it originally came from no one knows, but tradition says it ornamented the door of old Cobbs Hall in Northumberland County, built about 1720 by Colonel Richard's grandson, Charles Lee. It may have come from a still older place, Colonel Lee's Dividing Creek home on the same property. The arms are those of Shropshire, but with the significant addition of the crescent, the mark of cadency generally borne by the Coton Lees to designate descent from the younger house. Oddly enough, it appears on no other delineation of the arms used by the Virginia family.

But there is evidence that the third and fourth generation in Virginia also claimed the Coton lineage. In 1745 Thomas Lee of Stratford received a letter from Lancelot Lee of Coton. This letter, reproduced here in Appendix A, proved that Thomas knew he was descended from the Coton Lees of Nordley Regis, despite the confusion on cup and tombstone, for it was obviously a reply to an inquiry into family history on his part. It also shows that Lancelot recognized his claim, for he expressed a desire to know the particulars of "your branch of the family since the separation" and sent Thomas details about his own line. But it is full of errors and of little value

otherwise, for any conclusion drawn from it would have to be based on what may or may not have been said in Thomas' letter, which has never come to light.

Soon after this the Astley quartering appears in the Virginia arms for the first time, as far as there is any record: on a bookplate used by Thomas' eldest son, Philip Ludwell Lee, while a student at the Inner Temple about 1750 (Plate VI), and on a seal ring belonging to another son, Richard Henry Lee.¹⁰ And in 1771 his next to youngest son, William, who had been living in England for several years, carried on a correspondence with the Rev. Harry Lee, Warden of Winchester College and brother of the above Lancelot, in which he included an account of his own family and signed himself "your most obedient servant and kinsman."

So the claim was made by these members of the Virginia family, two of them educated in England, the third living there at the time, all three sons of a father known to have communicated with a member of the English house in regard to family matters.

William Lee's account of the Virginia family is the earliest on record, and was in possession of William Blackstone Lee, one of the Warden's descendants, when he was compiling his article for *Lee of Virginia*. Portions follow, as quoted in that volume, from pages 245 and 246:

Richard Lee, of a good family in Shropshire (and whose Picture, I am told, is now at Coton, near Bridgenorth, the seat of Launcelot Lee, Esqr.), some time in the Reign of Charles the first, went over to the Colony of Virginia, as Secretary and one of the King's Privy Council. . . . He was a man of good Stature, comely visage, an enterprising genius, a sound head, vigorous spirit and generous nature. When he got to Virginia, which was at that time much cultivated, he was so pleased with the Country that he made large settlements there with the servants he had carried over; after some years he returned to England and gave away all the lands he had taken up and settled at his own expense, to those servants he had fixed on them, some of whose descendants are now possessed of very considerable Estates in that Colony. After staying some time in England, he returned again to Virginia with a fresh band of adventurers, all of whom he settled there. . . .

William obviously inherited his father's keen interest in genealogy, but it must be remembered that he was only eleven when his father

died, and the fact remains that his account contains errors and contradictions and is generally unreliable. There is no proof that Colonel Lee's portrait was ever at Coton, nor did he come to this country as Secretary of State, although he held that office less than ten years after his arrival. Furthermore, although he made trips back and forth to England, brought new settlers into Virginia, and even maintained an English home during the last several years of his life, his early Virginia properties long remained in possession of his own heirs and descendants, while his holding of public office began shortly after his arrival and continued until his death, save for the period of the Cromwellian regime (1652-60), when he along with other Royalists was deposed.¹¹

William's account continues:

. . . Richard Lee had several children; the two eldest, John and Richard, were educated at Oxford. Richard was so clever and learn'd that some great men offered to promote him to the highest dignities in the church if his Father would let him stay in England; but this offer was refused, because the old Gentleman was determined to fix all his children in Virginia, and so firm was he in this purpose that by his will he ordered an Estate he had in England . . . near Stratford-by-Bow in Middlesex . . . to be sold, and the money to be divided among his children. He dyed and was buried in Virginia, leaving a numerous progeny, whose names I have chiefly forgot. . . .

Stratford Langton was the estate Colonel Richard Lee purchased in England *after* his emigration to America. His will begins: "I, Colonel Richard Lee of Virginia, and lately of Stratford Langton, in the county of Essex. . . ." Essex borders London on the northeast, and the village of Stratford Langton or Langthorne was a resort for persons of means who found London unhealthy. It was located about a mile from Stratford Bow on the north side of the Thames in Westham Parish, today the site of great wharves, docks, and the congestion of east London. He evidently lived there for about three years, from 1661 to 1664, but it seems to have had no connection with his family ties in England before he came to America. Whatever erstwhile plans he may have had for remaining permanently in England were changed at the time of his will, for in it he ordered the Stratford Langton estate sold and his English interests closed out, and he himself departed for America, dying soon after his arrival

there. William was correct in saying that he also arranged for his children to be settled in Virginia, because of which their descendants grew up as Virginians rather than Englishmen. How the course of history might have been changed had his decision been otherwise!

William's narrative furnished some interesting detail, not always accurate, and reiterated some of the statements made in Gibbon's account. But while it confirmed a relationship between the Virginia Lees and those of Coton it contributed nothing toward the solution of Colonel Richard Lee's parentage.

4. THE PARENTAGE

Thus things stood until 1926, when further research was begun in England by H. Edward Forrest, F.L.S.¹² One of the sources which helped him verify a relationship between the Virginia Lees and those of Coton was a British government publication entitled *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, a document which by a strange but happy coincidence contained a number of letters having to do with Colonel Lee's son, John.

Mr. Forrest continued the investigation of John of Coton's eight sons and, going beyond William Blackstone Lee's contention that Richard was likeliest to have been the Emigrant's father, was able to prove that he was the *only* one who could have been his parent, lacking only the proof that they were father and son. It was known that the estates of the eldest son, Thomas, heir to Coton (Plate VII), were held by his descendants until early in the nineteenth century. Forrest found that *all* the others save Richard definitely died without issue: William, Edward, Jasper, and Ferdinand before 1621, Gilbert in that year, and Josias in 1640.

Since by the law of primogeniture the oldest son inherited the estate, it was quite usual for younger sons to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Many of them in so doing became far more wealthy and important than their elder brothers. One such was Gilbert Lee. He married Elizabeth Pigott, a widow with one child, and lived at Tolleshunt Darcy in Essex, starting out as a ship captain and amassing a considerable fortune. One of his ships was *The Rat*, which sailed against the Spanish Armada. He subsequently became a successful London merchant, engaged in the export of leather goods, and the licenses granted him give us an idea of the large scale on which he

traded. Sums in his will should be multiplied by at least fifteen in order to approximate their present value. In this will, dated October 20, 1621, he left the following bequests:

To his nephew John, "furniture of great chamber with all hangings, pictures, chayres, stools, tables, bowls, cubboards, carpetts, cubboard and coffres, andirons and other implements whatsoever." To his "dear and well-beloved wife Elizabeth Lee" a list of beds, etc. Provision was made for an indebtedness of £1400 (doubtless a business debt) to William Newborne, John Gough, and Walter Awbrey, after which the residue of the estate was to go to his wife during her lifetime and then to his nephew, John Lee. He willed £3 to friends William Howbent, Thomas Sandys, John Gough, and Christopher Awbrey for gold rings (probably mourning rings), £1 to his wife's daughter, Susan, and £15 each to his "well-beloved brothers Richard Lee and Josias Lee."

This mention here of Richard Lee is important, for it is the only evidence that he was still living, being by then fifty-eight years old. Born in 1563, he would have been thirty-six when he married Elizabeth Bendy in 1599, and Colonel Richard, their son, was born sometime after that, though the year has never been determined.

It is possible that as a young lad he may have been sent up to London to his Uncle Gilbert, or to the latter's nephew, heir, and executor, John Lee, the merchant and saddler. John Lee became very wealthy, bought an estate near Windsor called Ankerwyke, and resided there until he died in 1682 at the age of eighty-one, having long outlived others of his generation. Whatever ties he and Colonel Richard Lee may have had in early days were apparently maintained after the latter's emigration to Virginia, for when his own son, John, was at Oxford Colonel Richard seems to have designated his cousin, John Lee, as the person most responsible for him in England.

This young John Lee of Virginia, donor of the silver tankard, entered Oxford in 1658, and a year later was stricken with an infectious disease, probably smallpox, which so alarmed the college officials that many of the students were prevented from attending the fall term. A tutor there at the time, one Joseph Williamson, was shortly thereafter appointed to a political office in London and left Oxford in 1660, subsequently rising to the position of Secretary of State and a knighthood. He comes into this picture only because he happened to include a number of college papers in his effects when

departing from Oxford. These papers somehow got printed with the State Paper, and it was through this lucky accident that the following excerpts relating to young John Lee were preserved.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1659-60

Page 258, October 17, 1659. Sarum. William Hunt to Joseph Williamson, Queen's College, Oxford: I should have sent up my son at Michaelmas as promised, but learning that one in the College had a dangerous disease, I have very reluctantly detained him. Tell me how the health of the College is, and whether he may safely return.

Page 264. November 15, London. Letter from John Currer to Williamson: Pray write a few lines for me to Colonel Lee telling him of his son's improvement, and command him [young John Lee] to do the like. I have written several times to John Lee [the saddler] but have got no reply. This ship will be gone in six or eight days and is the last that goes to those parts this year.

Page 304, January 1660. From John Currer to Williamson: I beg you to let alone all particulars till the Colonel comes to England. I will pay you the Colonel's allowance quarterly, and I enclose a bill for £157. Mr. Jeffreys has not heard from John Lee [the saddler].

Page 421, April 26, 1660. John Currer to Williamson: Enclose bill for £15 payable to Mr. Barlow [Provost of Queen's College], acknowledge to Mr. Robinson.

Although these papers indicate a relationship between the Coton and Virginia Lees, the representative of the Coton house certainly does not appear to have rushed to the rescue of his young kinsman from overseas. The Mr. Jeffreys alluded to was John Jeffreys, tobacconist, who was Colonel Richard Lee's London agent and is mentioned in his will. Currer was doubtless connected with this firm, though some think he was a ship captain.

Forrest's research also supplied the reason for John Lee's gift of the pint cup. At the time of his matriculation the colleges required entrance fees of all but the poorest students, which went toward the replacement of the large quantities of plate given to Charles I and melted down and minted. The donors were thus credited as benefactors, though there was certainly nothing voluntary about their

benefactions! John Lee is so named in a list drawn up by the same Joseph Williamson, onetime tutor: "Johannes Lee de Virginia . . . Poculum Argenteum 13 oz. A.D. 1658."¹³

When this evidence of Colonel Richard Lee's ancestry and parentage was submitted to the Heralds' College it was refused acceptance without definite proof that Richard Lee, Gent., sixth son of John Lee of Coton, and Colonel Richard Lee of Virginia were actually father and son, and so matters were at a deadlock.

Such was the record up to the year 1929, which was to be a memorable one, for when during that year a Mrs. Verna Lee Sommer sent in her papers for admission to the Lee Society she included a photograph of a page from a family Bible published in 1765 which had once been at Cobbs Hall.

This Bible record, shown in Plate VIII, was the most significant single discovery in all the years of research into Colonel Lee's antecedents. It consisted of a Bible record, copied in toto from an earlier Bible, the first sentence of which is quoted from a still older Bible, and which states that Colonel Richard Lee was "*son of Richard Lee of Nordley Regis in Shropshire.*" Here was the long sought proof.¹⁴

Lacking anything to the contrary, we can presumably take it that the Emigrant was born there,¹⁵ though at which specific place within the manor we cannot now say; his father being a younger son could have lived at any one of the several farms included in the Nordley Regis lands.¹⁶ As for the place name on the cup and tombstone, we can only conclude that the substitution of Morton for Nordley was an error in transcription made when the cup was engraved, and later copied on the stone, and that members of the family who might have been aware of the mistake apparently just never bothered to have it corrected.¹⁷

The Bible record also gave the place and date of Colonel Richard Lee's death, stating that he "died at Dividing Creeks in the C^o of Northumberland V^a March 1 1664," and furnished valuable genealogical information about the Cobbs Hall Lees.¹⁸ Mrs. Sommer, owner of the Bible, was the granddaughter of John P. Lee, the last entry, who with his family left Virginia in 1811. The Bible first

belonged to the Charles Lee (1744-85) who married Sarah Hull. Their names appear on the flyleaf.

The proof of parentage supplied by this Bible record was submitted to the Heralds' College, who accepted it and recorded it there in November, 1930. Colonel Richard Lee's pedigree, complete with the link which had hitherto been missing, will be found on Chart A.

This was the heritage Colonel Lee brought with him to America in 1640; in the twenty-four years before his death he established a position in the new world comparable to that which his ancestors had enjoyed for centuries in England. His land holdings grew, his wealth increased, and at one time or another he held the offices of Clerk of the Court, Attorney General, High Sheriff, Burgess, Secretary of State, and Councillor. He made his name great in the Virginia of his day, and his descendants were to add luster to it for generations to come.¹⁹

Chapter II

THE PROPERTIES

I. THE LAND GRANTS

AT the time of Richard Lee's emigration to America there were two means of acquiring land: by purchase in the usual manner and through grants from the colonial government in payment for the importation of settlers. This was the system of headrights, by which fifty acres were given for each person brought in, as well as fifty for one's own "personal adventure." Under this system Richard Lee received an initial grant of a thousand acres for the settlement of himself, his wife Anne,²⁰ one John Francis (probably a manservant), and seventeen other headrights by assignment. This patent was for land on the north side of the York River at the head of Poropotank Creek, in what was then York, later Gloucester County, but he had already been a resident of the Colony for over two years when he obtained title to it on August 10, 1642.

His first home was on *leased* land on the same side of the river, at the head of Tindall's Creek near the Indian community of Capahosic Wicomico (the Capohowasick Wickacomoco of John Lee's cup),²¹ some two miles northeast of Gloucester Point. He did not take title to it until 1646, when there is a record of his purchasing one hundred acres at this location,²² but he lived here until 1644, when the Indian massacre and the ensuing Indian war caused the English to abandon the north side of the river. On December 2 of that year he patented ninety-one acres on the safer south side, "upon the ridge of the New Poquoson" in the lower peninsula. This place was their home until 1653, during which time Richard Lee served as high sheriff and burgess for York while carrying on his duties as attorney general. He may still have been living there

when he was appointed Secretary of State in 1649 and a member of the Council two years later.

As his political career unfolded his land holdings also began to expand. He had sold 150 acres of his original grant, the tract on Poropotank Creek "called by the name of the Indian spring." This left eight hundred fifty acres at this site, to which he later gave the name "Paradise" when he established his home there about 1653. This estate, together with the hundred acres at Tindall's Neck in the same county, constituted his properties up to 1646. On August 20 of that year he took out a patent for twelve hundred fifty acres on the Pamunkey River in York, afterwards New Kent County, at the spot "where the foot Company met with the Boats when they went pomunkey March under ye command of Capt. William Claiborne," in the counteroffensive against the Indians after the massacre of 1644. The inclusion of this description suggests that Lee might himself have taken part in that operation. He did not develop these lands, but exchanged them in 1648 for a tract of the same acreage along the north side of the York near the present Capahosic, retaining the four hundred acres he called War Captain's Neck and selling the other eight hundred fifty.

After peace with the Indians had been concluded and the lands north of the York reopened for settlement in 1649, Richard Lee turned his eyes in that direction again. A patent was issued on May 24, 1651, to "Coll^o: Richard Lee Esq^{re}" (he had just recently been granted the title) for five hundred fifty acres adjacent to War Captain's Neck,²³ in two tracts of three hundred fifty and two hundred acres each, making a total of nine hundred fifty acres in this vicinity. Two years later he sold two hundred inland acres of this property. In 1651 he also acquired five hundred additional acres on Poropotank Creek.

All these properties, as well as the Paradise estate and the land at Tindall's Neck, were included in that part of York taken to form Gloucester when the new county was established between the York and the Pianketank in 1651. On March 20, 1653, three hundred additional acres were patented for land on the York River side of Tindall's Neck, abutting southwest on the river, northwest on the property of Richard Jones. In that same year, on November 14, he branched out into Lancaster, founded in 1651 from land on both sides of the Rappahannock, divided from Gloucester on the south

by the Pianketank. This grant was for three hundred acres on the south side of the Rappahannock at the head of Matchepungo Creek, to which fifty adjacent acres were added in 1656.

The year 1656 seems to have been a time when Colonel Lee disposed of a large part of his land holdings and consolidated the rest, for he sold all this property at some time during that year, together with the Tindall's Neck land where he had made his first home, and subsequently abandoned another tract of eight hundred fifty acres on Pianketank Swamp in Gloucester patented for him by John Woodward in 1655 and repatented in 1656. He had sold his New Poquoson land three years earlier, and in 1658 he assigned to Robert Lee two hundred acres he had added to his War Captain's Neck property by patent of May 17, 1655.

At this time (1656) Colonel Lee and his family were living at his Paradise estate. He had moved to this wilderness home in 1653 and had established a "store" about two miles south, near the present Adner, though he did not obtain title to this bit of property until June 4, 1656, when he patented the five acres on which it was located. It seems to have been a sort of commercial warehouse maintained in connection with his export-import business.

It is presumed that Colonel Richard Lee lived in Jamestown for the first two years after his emigration, and we believe that he resided in York and Gloucester for about fourteen years all told: two years (1642-44) at Tindall's Neck, nine years (1644-53) at the New Poquoson, and three years (1653-56) at Paradise. He probably moved to Northumberland about 1656, and from then on Dividing Creek was his home, although for three years, shortly before his death, he was at his Stratford Langton estate in England.

The supposition is that Colonel Richard Lee for some time prior to 1651 had owned land at Dividing Creek which he is believed to have bought from the Wicomico Indians. On May 21, 1651, he had patented eight hundred acres on the south side of Dividing Creek, abutting northwest upon a small creek "which divideth this land and the land of Col^o Richard Lee." This was for what is now Ditchley, and the description of the northwest property bound is significant, for it confirms the above supposition.²⁴ In 1657 the Royal Governor was authorized to grant patents to those persons holding lands in Westmoreland had from these Indians, and when this was ratified by General Court Order a proviso was included specifying that no

entrenchment was to be made "upon any preceding rights of Coll^o Richard Lee." ²⁵ So Colonel Lee was enabled to perfect the title to his earlier Dividing Creek lands by patent granted him by Governor Edward Diggs on March 4, 1657, comprising six hundred acres abutting southeast on the Ditchley tract, from which it was separated by Andrews Creek. It was on this property that he built his home. It never had any name other than that of the creek, though the tract was later known by the name of Cobbs Hall, a house built half a mile to the east by his grandson, Charles Lee in 1720. Likewise, the Ditchley tract was not known by this name until the third generation. These properties at Dividing Creek, totaling fourteen hundred acres, were augmented by another five hundred acres formerly owned by a George Colclough (Figure 1).

The following grants mark the entry of the name of Lee into the annals of the Potomac River. They were for a thousand acres on the Potomac at Machodoc River in Northumberland, patented on October 18, 1657, and repatented the following June 5 as two thousand acres. From these Machodoc lands, referred to in the old documents as the "Machotick properties," were derived the estates of Mount Pleasant and Lee Hall in the third generation. About 1660 he patented another four thousand acres on the Potomac in what was then Westmoreland, now Fairfax County, in two parts of one thousand acres each and one part of two thousand. The transcripts of this grant in the Land Office at Richmond are fragmentary and the date partly obliterated; it appears as November 26, 166-, and was renewed by General Court Order on March 26, 1663. One of the thousand-acre tracts comprised the land on which Mount Vernon was later to be built; it passed out of the Lee family in the next generation. The two-thousand-acre tract was on the south side of Hunting Creek opposite the site of Alexandria; the second thousand acres cannot be located.

It is interesting to speculate on what conditions were in His Majesty's Colony of Virginia in the days when Colonel Richard Lee was patenting the lands out of which the great estates of the Lees were to be formed. There is a delightful and instructive little booklet called the *Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser*, published in 1849, which contains some comments about this period. This magazine once served to disseminate the proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society, in addition to which it published some poetry,

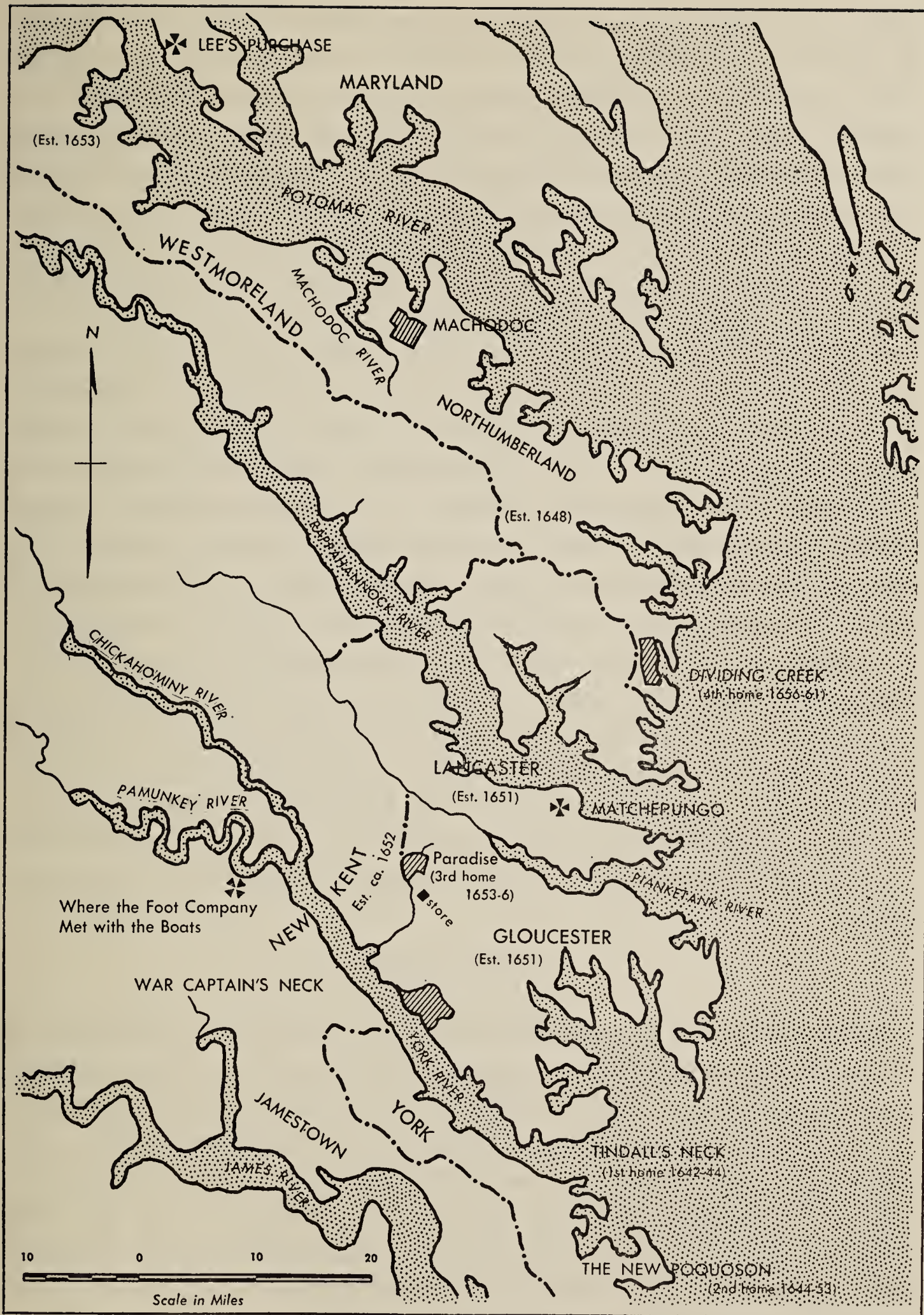


Figure 1. Colonel Richard Lee's Landholdings. (The Upper Potomac grants are not shown.)

some ancient history, and some current events. Along with an able disquisition on the introduction of forks into England in 1609 we find a reprint of a pamphlet entitled "A Perfect Description of Virginia in 1648," from which we learn that at that time there were fifteen thousand whites and three hundred Negroes in the Colony, and but two hundred horses, for they plowed with oxen in those days. It is also recorded that there were six public brew houses where excellent strong beer was made, and that everywhere "they live in peace and love" under the then benign reign of Governor Berkeley.

A fair estimate of Colonel Lee's total land grants and purchases over the twenty-two years from 1642 to 1664 would be somewhere in the neighborhood of fifteen thousand acres, a great part of which was productive land, which he improved and developed over the years. Out of these properties he built up a permanent estate of more than sixteen thousand acres, comprised of the thirteen hundred fifty acres of the Paradise estate, seven hundred fifty at War Captain's Neck, nineteen hundred at Dividing Creek, the Machodoc lands of twenty-six hundred acres (they were repatented for this additional acreage a few months after his death), and the four thousand acres along the Potomac. When he divided this estate among his children he also left them the products of the several plantations, white indentured servants, Negroes, livestock, household furnishings, silver, etc. No wonder William Lee, writing of his great-grandfather in 1771, could describe him as "an enterprising genius" and "a vigorous spirit."

2. THE LEGACIES

Colonel Richard Lee executed his will in London on February 6, 1664, and apparently left immediately afterward for Virginia, where he died on March 1. By his will we see that he had some debts, and also that he dealt with them more effectively than did some who came after him. After taking care of his obligations and providing for his wife in her lifetime, he then divided his holdings among his eight children. The best known estates to evolve out of these were Ditchley and Cobbs Hall, Lee Hall and Mount Pleasant. While nothing remains of the first houses at any of these places, Cobbs Hall is unique in that it is still in the hands of descendants of the original owners, and Ditchley boasts a mansion which dates back to 1762 (Figure 2).

To his wife Colonel Richard Lee gave "the plantation on which I

now dwell" (his Dividing Creek estate) and an adjoining tract called Monk's Neck; these lands totaled about two thousand acres, and at her death were to go to the five younger children. While her home was left to her for life, the servants were to be hers only so long as she remained a widow. This she did not do for long, for somewhere between 1664 and 1666 she married Edmund Lister, and they continued to live on at the Dividing Creek home until her death.

John, Richard, and Francis, the three older sons, received the Westmoreland and Gloucester properties. To John, the eldest, went the Machodoc lands in Westmoreland and three unidentified islands in the Chesapeake. Not much is known about this son, whose promising career was cut short by an early death. He may have returned from England with his father when the latter came back to Virginia for the last time in February, 1664. We know that he was there by April of that year, when he obtained a court order for land due his father, by then deceased. From an inventory of his own estate one gathers that although his home in Westmoreland was one of few rooms, they must have been large ones to have held the quantity of "stuff" with which they were stocked. Mention is made of "Captain Lee's Chamber" (probably one of the upstairs rooms), the hall room, the hall chamber, the parlor room (doubtless also the dining room, as it was furnished with a "Spanish" table and seven leather chairs), and next to it a study. John Lee was the first of a number of romantic bachelors produced by the Lee family, and one of four gentlemen, all neighbors, who in 1670 built themselves a "Banqueting Hall" at the juncture of their Westmoreland estates. This has since been called the first country club in America; certainly it was the most exclusive. John Lee held the rank of captain in the militia, served as sheriff of Westmoreland, and was representing his county in the House of Burgesses when he died in the fall of 1673. Presumably born in 1642, he would then have been thirty-one years old.

To Richard Lee, the next son, was left "the plantation called Paradise," Colonel Lee's first patented land in America. Here this second Richard may have lived until his brother John's death, when he became heir-at-law and inheritor of the latter's Westmoreland estate. More about Richard Lee II and his son Thomas Lee of Stratford will be found in Part II.

Francis Lee, destined for a mercantile career abroad, was born about 1646, and lived for a while in Northumberland County, filling

the usual office of justice (1670-77), before settling permanently in London. He married, had a family, and died in England in 1714, and very little else is known about him. His father's will specified that he was to receive the War Captain's Neck and the Papermaker's Neck. This latter property may have been part of the five hundred fifty adjoining acres patented by Colonel Lee in 1651. The origin of the name is unknown.

To William, Hancock, and Charles, the younger sons, and the daughters, Betsey and Anne, were willed the four thousand acres on the Potomac of which the Mount Vernon property was a part, and the lands left to their mother during her lifetime (the Dividing Creek estate and Monk's Neck), together with additional nearby lands in Northumberland described as "the plantation whereon John Baswell now lives, and so all along including Bishop's Neck and to the utmost of my land towards Brewer's." This tract was the land Colonel Lee had obtained from George Colclough. Of these Northumberland lands, the six-hundred-acre middle portion on which Colonel Lee had made his home went to Charles, and to Hancock was left the eight hundred acres to the south, while William received the other properties, and "all that land on the Maryland side of the Potomac whereon George English is now seated," lands which later formed the patrimony of the Maryland Lees.²⁶

In his will he also provided that if his debts were paid before his English estate was sold, the girls would get the proceeds of its sale in lieu of their share in the Virginia lands.²⁷

But for the thoughtfulness and consideration of Richard Lee II, the heir-at-law, these younger brothers and their descendants might have lost their patrimony. Under the laws of the time, if no "words of perpetuity" were added to a devise of land, it reverted to the heir-at-law at the devisee's death. Because of the omission of any such words of inheritance in Colonel Lee's will his three younger sons were entitled to only a life interest in their properties. Richard II, realizing that the flaw was due to an oversight and that it was clearly Colonel Lee's intent to give them their lands in fee, confirmed their titles by deed in 1707, thereby insuring the properties to them and their heirs forever. He signed over his rights as heir-at-law to Hancock Lee for the Ditchley tract, and to Charles Lee, Jr. (Charles Lee by then being dead), for the Cobbs property.²⁸

William Lee was also dead by this time, after what seems to have

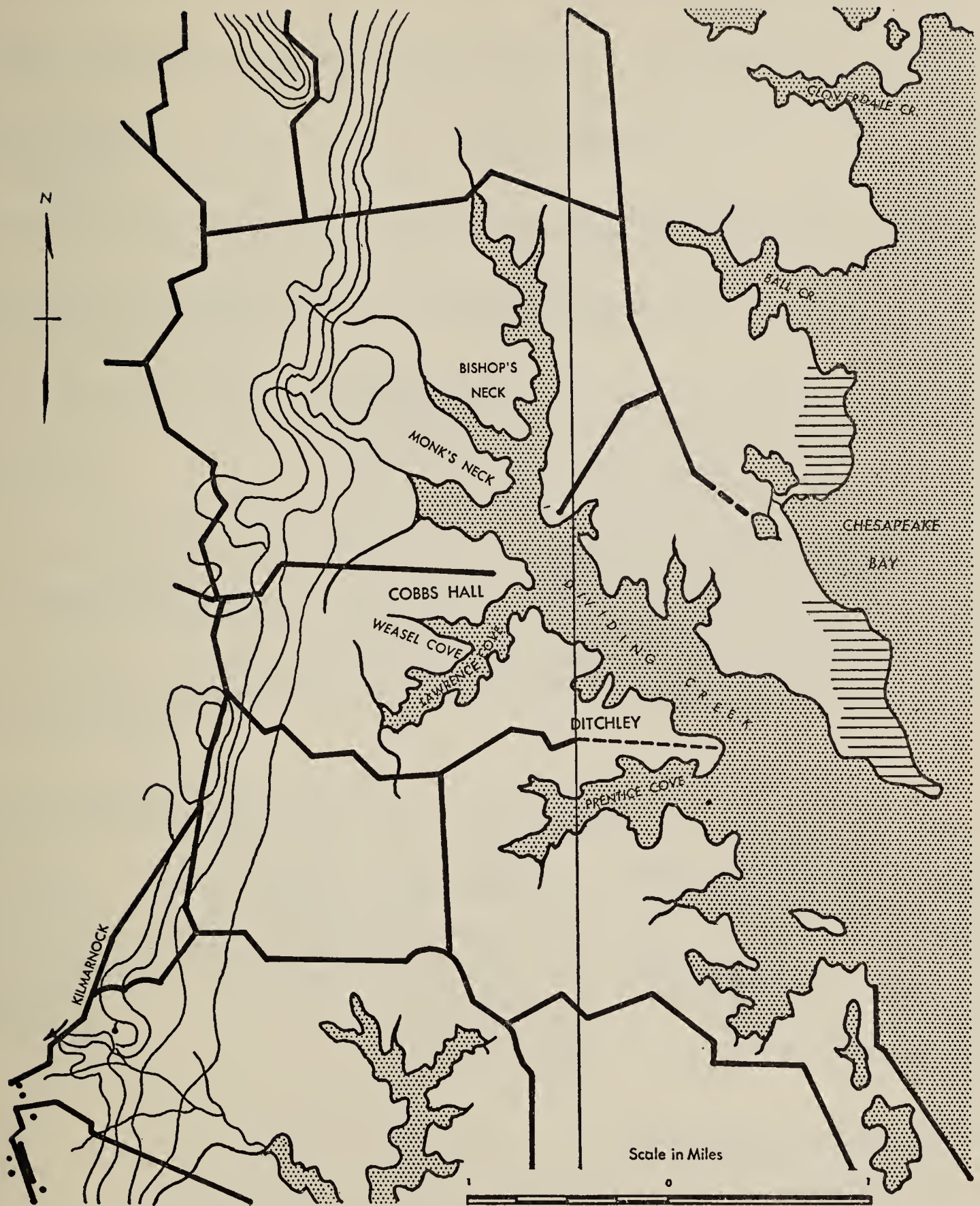


Figure 2. The Dividing Creek Estates of Colonel Richard Lee in Northumberland County, 1663.

REYNER (REGINALD) de LEGA

Sheriff of Shropshire-1201
(FIRST OF THE FAMILY TO USE THE FESSE AND BILLETS OF THE LEE)

SIR THOMAS de la LEE m. Petronilla, dau. of Sir Thomas Corbett, Sheriff of Shropshire

Living ca. 1221-58

SIR JOHN de la LEE m. Petronilla Drayton

REGINALD de la LEE of Pevenhull (Pimhill)

SIR THOMAS de la LEE

JOHN de la LEE

JOHN de la LEE

SIR JOHN de la LEE m.

JOHN LEE of Lee (Lea) Hall and Pimhill

SIR JOHN LEE of Roden and Stanton

Living 1327

ROGER LEE m. Joanna Burnell of Acton Burnell and Langley

*ROGER LEE m. Margaret Astley, dau. and

First Lee of Langley

First Lee of Coton (seat of the manor of Coton)

Petronilla Lee

m.

**ROBERT LEE

JOHN LEE of Coton m. Joyce Packington

THE LANGLEY LEES

RICHARD LEE represented this branch at the Visitation of 1569, and his son Sir HUMPHREY LEE represented both the Langley and Coton branches at Visitation of 1623. The male line became extinct in 1660. Descendants on the female side are the Smythes of Acton Burnell.

THE COTON LEES

JOHN LEE of Coton m. Elizabeth Corbin

THOMAS LEE of Coton m. Joanna Morton

HUMPHREY LEE of Coton m. Catherine

Represented Coton Lees at Visitation of 1569. Coton on medieval foundations. Died 1599

JOHN LEE of Coton m. Joyce Romney

THOMAS LEE of Coton m. Dorothy Oteley

WILLIAM LEE

EDWARD LEE

GILBERT LEE

(1560-1621)

JOHN LEE of Ankerwyke

Merchant and Saddler
m. Mary Pollard. d. 1682.
No issue.

Died young, probably before his father's death in 1605, as he is not mentioned in will. Marked S.P. (no issue) at Visitation of 1623.

Buried at Alveley Church, Shropshire, June 22, 1616. No issue.

of Tolleshunt Darcy, Essex. Will proved 1621, naming brothers Richard and Josias and nephew John (exec.) No issue.

LANCELOT LEE of Coton m. Jane Clemson

(1593-1663) m. twice

THOMAS LEE of Coton m. Dorothy Eldred

RICHARD LEE m. Elizabeth Langdon

Certified pedigree at Visitation of 1663. m. 3 times. Died 1687

Lived at St. Olave's, Southwark. Mead the historian confused him with the Emigrant.

ELDRED LANCELOT LEE of Coton m. Isabella Gough

(1650-1734)

LANCELOT LEE of Coton

REV. HARRY LEE m. Caroline Michel

b. 1719. m. 3 times. Wrote the letter in 1745 to Thomas Lee of Stratford. His grand-daughter Catherine Lee m. J. M. Wingfield, and Coton passed to this family and was later sold. It now (1957) belongs to Howard J. Thompson.

Warden of Winchester College, with whom Wm. LEE of Va. had the correspondence. His great-grandson was WILLIAM BLACKSTONE LEE of Seend, Wilts., the historian.



Chart A. The Pedigree of Colonel Richard Lee

LEE m. Petronilla de Stanton
 Matilda de Erdington et Roden
 heiress of Thomas Astley of Nordley Regis
 Nordley Regis)
 dau. of Thomas Morton of Houghton
 Col. Richard Lee
 1569. Rebuilt
 1588-9

SIR THOMAS LEE of Okehurst m. Sibilla

SIR THOMAS LEE—Sheriff

KEY: This chart is drawn up from the pedigree of the Lees of Shropshire at the Visitation of 1623, which was based on the early records and deeds which had caused the Heralds to "allow" the claim to the Lee arms of Richard Lee of Langley and Humphrey Lee of Coton, representing the family at the first Visitation in 1569. It was certified by John Lee of Coton at the Visitation of 1584, at the one in 1623 by Sir Humphrey Lee of Langley, representing both branches, and at the Visitation of 1663 by Thomas Lee of Coton. William Blackstone Lee, a descendant of the Coton house, attested to it in 1891, and through his study of the findings of Eyton and Hardy, made the corrections in the early generations as given here, and through his own research added the information about the eight sons of John Lee of Coton, which was confirmed by Edward Forrest in 1926. The Cobbs Hall Bible record in 1929 furnished the proof of Col. Richard Lee's parentage, which was accepted and recorded by the College of Heralds in 1930—The Editor.

(1528-1605) Certified pedigree at Visitation of 1584. Buried at Chesham, Bucks.

JASPER LEE

Probably died before his father's death in 1605, as he is not mentioned in will. Marked S.P. in Visitation of 1623. No issue.

RICHARD LEE m. Elizabeth Bendy

Baptized Oct. 6, 1563.
m. Oct. 22, 1599 (Alveley Register)

FERDINAND LEE

Baptized at Alveley, 1565/6. m. twice. Marked S.P. in Visitation of 1623.

JOSIAS LEE

Baptized Dec. 2, 1562, Sole exec. of father's will in 1605. Died in 1640. Nuncupative will proved Jan. 14, 1640, leaving everything to wife. No issue.

COLONEL RICHARD LEE

THE LEES OF VIRGINIA

NOTE: In cases where a person was married more than once, only the direct ancestress is given. All children in each generation have not been shown; only the direct line and those others mentioned in this volume. All names have been Anglicized.

*The Harleian MS of 1593 gives Roger Lee as the second son of Sir Thomas Lee of Okehurst rather than the son of Sir John Lee of Roden and Stanton. Whether he was son or nephew of Sir John Lee is not of vital importance. The statement in the MSS is not supported by

direct evidence, and the statement in the registered pedigree that he was Sir John's son is good evidence till disproved.

**There has been much contention as to whether this Robert Lee was a son of Sir John Lee of Roden and Stanton, or of Roger Lee and Margaret Astley. The latter theory seems most plausible, because it is an accepted fact that from Robert Lee and his wife Petronilla were descended the Langley Lees who quartered their arms with those of Astley. They could not have done so had Robert Lee not himself been a son or direct descendant of Margaret Astley.

been a successful if unspectacular career. He was a merchant, and a factor or local agent for mercantile houses in England. He served as a justice in Northumberland in 1690, as burgess in 1680 and 1693, and at one time as captain of the militia. While there was certainly nothing very remarkable about him, he has been responsible for a merry bit of genealogical warfare extending over a long period and promising to continue indefinitely. Part of his legacy, on which he appears to have resided, was called Bishop's Neck, and at his death it became the center of a lengthy lawsuit, for it was claimed by one Bartholomew Schreever, whose wife, Mary, was William's executrix, and what is more remarkable, the inheritor of most of his estate. Great controversy has raged over whether this woman was William's widow, or possibly his daughter. It seems unlikely that there was any blood relationship, for Richard Lee II, in marked contrast to his consideration for the heirs of his brothers, Hancock and Charles, brought suit against Mary Schreever and her husband, claiming William's land for himself.²⁹ After the usual delays the courts awarded him the property, which he later left to his son, Thomas, who from this modest beginning built up his vast domain.³⁰

3. THE DIVIDING CREEK ESTATES

Ditchley

Hancock Lee, born in 1652, may be regarded as the founder of the Ditchley line (Plate IX), although his son was the first to call the estate by this name. Of all the Emigrant's children, Hancock most resembled his father, for he was possessed of an adventurous and pioneering spirit, qualities not shared by the others. Richard II increased his inheritance to some degree, but centered his life on politics; William and Francis added nothing to their patrimony, and Charles took out no land patents at all and died in middle age at the home where he had spent his entire life. But while Richard was laying the political foundation on which his son Thomas was to rise to fame, and Charles was rustivating at Dividing Creek, sitting as a judge, or attending an occasional vestry, Hancock had his eyes fixed on the west. What manner of vision he saw there we do not know, but he passed it on to a number of his children and grandchildren, and by 1770 his descend-

ants in this pioneering segment of the Ditchley family were seeking their fortunes on the banks of the Ohio; they also played a distinct part in the settlement of Kentucky. While the Stratford Lees were standing before kings, signing declarations, and fashioning a new nation, these men were paddling down unknown rivers and losing their scalps. Relatively little is known of this branch, but it produced many men of character and distinction, among them Zachary Taylor, Mexican War hero and twelfth president of the United States, and Edward Douglas White, a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Hancock married Mary Kendall of Northampton County on the Eastern Shore of Virginia about 1675, and probably settled there at that time, for he was serving as a justice there two years later. He is thought to have returned to Northumberland about 1686, for by the next year he was acting in the same capacity for this county. He was so serving again in 1699 and also representing Northumberland in the House of Burgesses. In addition he was "Naval Officer and Collector of Virginia Dutys" and a vestryman of Wicomico Church, in what was then Lee Parish. It was to this church that he left the money for the communion cup. His second wife was Sarah Allerton, daughter of Isaac Allerton of Westmoreland, whose broad acres adjoined the land of Richard Lee II. This wife contributed a new strain to the Lee descendants, for her Grandfather Allerton had come to New England in the *Mayflower* and married Elder Brewster's daughter, Fear.

Early in the 1700's Hancock patented land on the Rappahannock in what is now Fauquier, land in Fairfax at the mouth of the Occoquan, and land in Stafford at the head of the Chapawamsic. This was pioneering in those days. The Rappahannock lands (1704) were the first patents to be issued by the Proprietors of the Northern Neck to a member of the Lee family. They are shown, in relation to modern landmarks, in Figure 3, along with the later patents of his sons Isaac and Hancock, Jr. (areas 4 and 5). Areas 1, 2, and 3, which were Hancock's patents, were for eleven hundred, four hundred seventy, and eighteen hundred fifty-three acres respectively, making a total of thirty-four hundred twenty-three acres. All this property ultimately came into possession of Hancock, Jr.

Hancock Lee died on May 25, 1709, the date given erroneously on his tombstone as 1729. We have his will, the inventory of his



Figure 3. Fauquier Patents of Hancock Lee and His Sons.

estate, a plot of his lands, a sketch of his house, his communion cup, and his tombstone, from all of which we are able to form some idea of the man and how he lived. From his will we gather that he possessed a fair amount of spirituality: he wrote an excellent declaration of faith, he willed five pounds to the local parish for the purchase of the silver chalice, he owned one or more Bibles and a book of prayers, and he endeavored to treat his children fairly. The law of primogeniture seems to have had little appeal for him, and furthermore, he insisted that that which had come to him through his first wife should go to her children, a principle not always regarded as obligatory. His attitude toward his second wife is of some interest, for even though she was but thirty-five at the time he made his will, he seemed to have had no qualms that she might remarry and squander his goods on another man. She lived to be sixty years old, but there is no record of her ever marrying again, so his confidence seems to have been well founded.

These few facts and highlights constitute all that is known of the first Hancock Lee. He is buried at Ditchley, a few feet from the site of the original house that he built and left, with the rest of the estate, to his son, Richard. His sons, John and Isaac, the latter a mariner who died in England, left no issue. Anna, his daughter by his first wife, was married successively to William Armistead and William Eustace; his daughter Elizabeth was the wife of Zachary Taylor and the grandmother of President Taylor. Elizabeth and her twin brother, Hancock, Jr., were born late in 1709, probably after their father's death. Descendants of the two daughters and this youngest son went into Fauquier and from there pushed on westward. More about them will be found in Appendix C.

Richard Lee, the son to whom Hancock willed his estate, was born there in 1691, lived there all his life, and was buried there in 1740. He, like his father before him, served as justice in Northumberland, and as clerk of the county from 1716 to 1735. Judith Steptoe was his wife and they are believed to have had many children,³¹ three of whom we are concerned with here. These are Mary, the wife of Charles Lee of Cobbs; Lettice, who was married to Colonel James Ball; and Kendall, who married Betty Heale and inherited the estate.

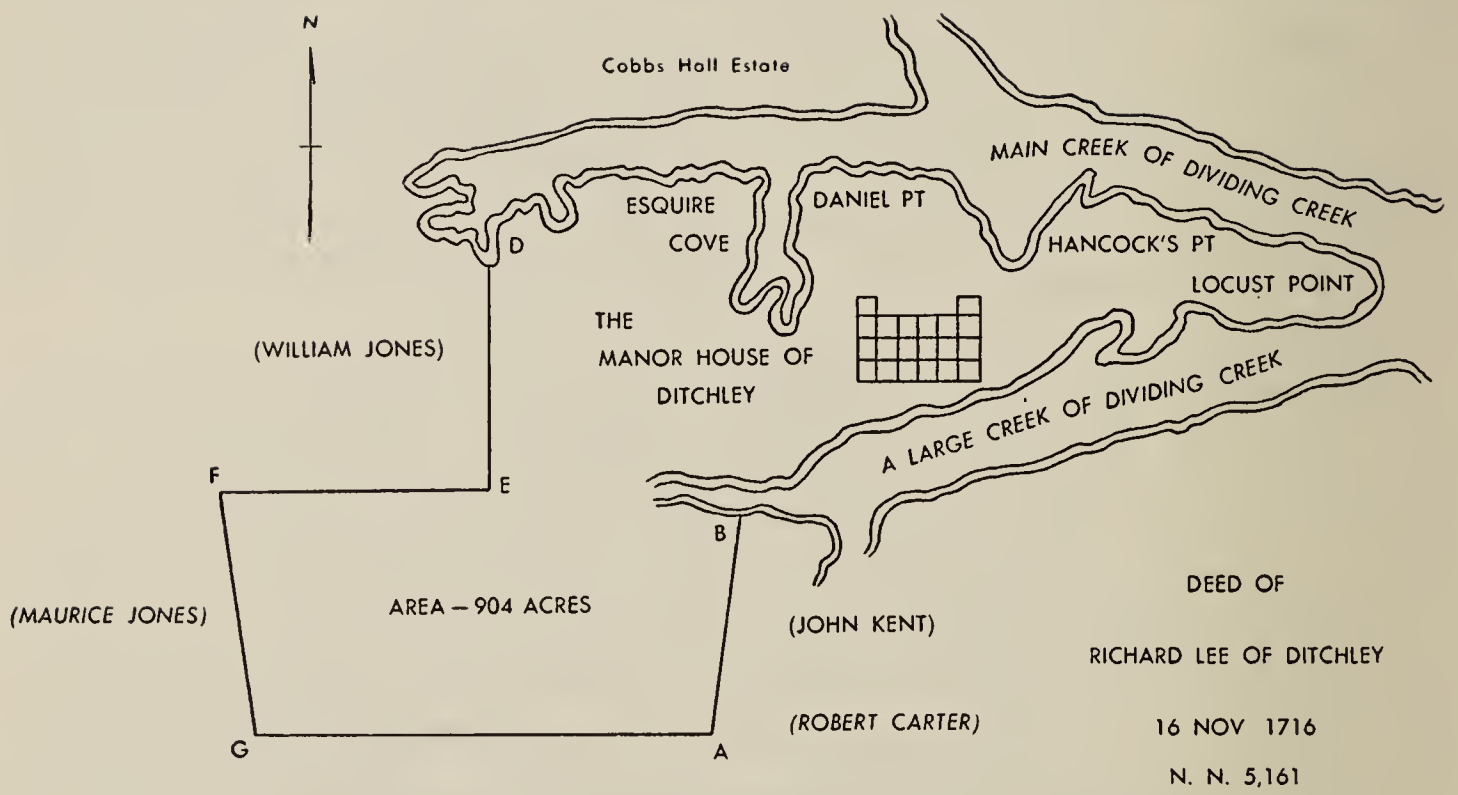


Figure 4. Plot of Ditchley in 1716.

Kendall Lee was the builder, about 1762, of the present mansion. Going south from Wicomico Church to Kilmarnock, about three miles before the latter place, a left turnoff leads to the house, a mile away on the narrow peninsula between the branches of Dividing Creek. It is a large colonial house of mellow brick, with lovely cornices and porticos, and is located a short distance from the site of the first home.

When Kendall Lee died about 1780 he left a number of children, and nine years later William Lee, the eldest one, sold Ditchley to his nephew, Colonel James Ball of Bewdley, Lancaster County, and moved with his wife, Jane Payne, to Fauquier. This Colonel Ball was the son of the Colonel James Ball who had married Lettice Lee, so while the estate had passed from the Lees, it was still in the family. Joseph Ball inherited it from his father and died there in 1851. He had a son, James Flexmer Ball, and this gentleman had several sons, among them J. Wilmot Ball of Baltimore to whom the property descended, along with a number of very interesting old papers.

The most valuable of these was the survey made in 1716 by Richard Lee, son and heir of the first Hancock (Figure 4). On this survey the original mansion appears near the spot where the graves of the Lees are to be found; the eight hundred acres had been surveyed and found actually to comprise nine hundred four. Next in interest was the deed executed in 1789 by William Lee, conveying the house and a portion of the estate to Colonel James Ball. The survey made in connection with this transaction (Figure 5) shows that Colonel Ball purchased four hundred forty-seven acres; the mansion is seen in its present location, the old house having disappeared. A Mr. George Lee, probably William's brother, resided at this time on that portion to the south which had not been sold to Colonel Ball. The Cobbs property is entitled "Mrs. Lee's Lands," referring to the Mrs. Charles Lee of Cobbs whose home it was for nearly sixty years. On the south is the land belonging to Charles Carter of Shirley, who was to be the grandfather of Robert E. Lee.

Ditchley seems destined, happily, to remain in the hands of those who have some connection with the early owners. When Wilmot Ball sold it, the purchaser was Mrs. Cora Lee (Carter) Keene, a descendant of the Cobbs Hall Lees. The present owner is Mrs. Alfred I. duPont, a member of the Ball family, who has carefully restored it.

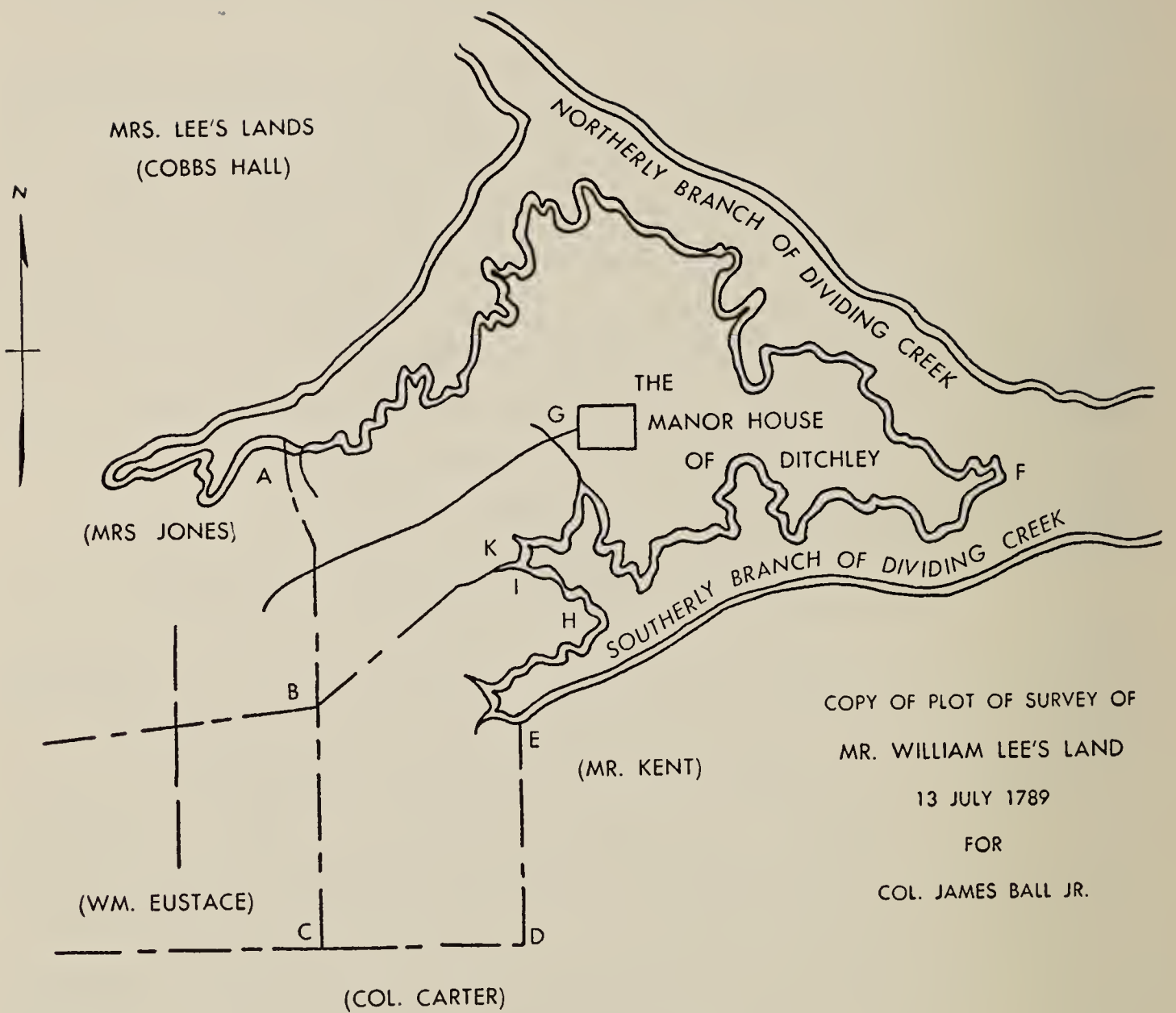


Figure 5. Plot of Ditchley in 1789.

Cobbs Hall

Charles Lee, Colonel Richard Lee's youngest son, was the first of six Charles Lees to live on what came to be known as the Cobbs Hall property (Plate X). Charles seems to have been a favorite name with these Lees, as was the name Henry with the Leesylvania line. For the sake of clarity this first Charles will be designated as Charles² Lee, since he was of the second generation, and the successive Charles Lees will be numbered accordingly.

Almost nothing is known of him. He was born on May 21, 1655, at his father's Dividing Creek home, and since he was residing there with his mother and her second husband, Edmund Lister, at the time of her death, it is logical to suppose that he continued to live on there in the first of the three successive houses on the property. He filled the office of justice in Northumberland between 1687 and 1699, but this seems to have been the extent of his public service. His wife was Elizabeth Metstand of Lancaster, by whom he had four children. At his death he willed "the 600 acres whereon I now am" to his son Charles, Jr. (Charles³ Lee), who also received a feather bed and some Negroes.

Cobbs seems to have been associated with young men and old ladies, there usually being a grandmother in residence there. Major Charles³ Lee (1684-1740) was the only one of the six Charles Lees to reach the age of fifty. He was married on November 8, 1721, to Elizabeth Pinckard, who must have died before him, as she did not share in his estate, and a record of the court's appointing a guardian for their young children implies that both parents were dead. It is believed that the first *brick* house on the site of the present Cobbs Hall was built by this Charles Lee, and that here the old wood carving of the Lee arms hung.

Charles⁴ Lee, his son, set something of a matrimonial record, for he managed to be twice married and to have children by each wife before he died in 1747 at the age of twenty-five. His first wife was Mary, daughter of Richard and Judith (Steptoe) Lee of Ditchley; his second was Leeanna Jones, whose parents were William and Leeanna (Lee) Jones of neighboring Hickory Neck. From this constant intermarriage it would appear that the Lees preferred their own stock to any other.

The next owner was Charles⁵ Lee, son of the above Charles by his first wife. He was born there on March 4, 1744, and died in 1785 in the same month. He and his wife, Sarah Hull, were the purchasers of the Cobbs Hall Bible. By her he had nine children and to her he left the "manor plantation" for life, with the provision that it then go to their son, Charles⁶ Lee.

On October 20, 1792, this son married Elizabeth Edwards. Two years later when making his will, being still childless, he named his brother Richard to succeed to the property after their mother's death. Richard (1768-1824) and his wife Elizabeth Hurst had six daughters and one son, Charles⁷, the presumptive heir to the estate. But the mother, Sarah Hull Lee, was to outlive both sons and grandson, and when she finally expired in 1827 at the age of eighty, Cobbs Hall passed to Richard Lee's daughter, Martha, the male line being extinct. No land had been added to it for one hundred fifty years, and the original property had dwindled to two hundred four acres.³²

Martha Lee, who was born April 26, 1803, became the wife of Lewis G. Harvey on January 8, 1833. Mr. Harvey was able to reclaim much of the original estate from Lee heirs and by purchase from others who had come into possession of parts of it,³³ and the old place began to prosper. In 1853 the present Cobbs Hall, built on the site of the 1720 house, was completed. It is a brick mansion of good proportions, standing foursquare to the winds that blow from Dividing Creek and the Chesapeake Bay.

The period of prosperity ended with the Civil War, and at the time of the Harveys' deaths but fifty acres remained in their possession. This passed to their son, Richard Livingston Harvey (1836-1889), who left it to his son, Warner Hurst Harvey of Baltimore. The latter's three sons, W. Hurst Harvey and E. Walter Harvey of Kilmarnock and R. L. Harvey of Baltimore, of the tenth generation of the Cobbs Hall line, inherited the estate at his death.

The two grand specimens of Irish yew which for two centuries graced the portals of Cobbs Hall now adorn the Bishop's Garden at Washington Cathedral, after guarding the home of God-fearing, Bible-reading church wardens for so many generations. They were transplanted in 1930 on General Robert E. Lee's birthday, January 19.

It is an accepted fact that the Emigrant died at his Dividing Creek home and was buried there. The Cobbs Hall Bible attests to the first statement, and in 1798 Portia Lee, a daughter of William Lee of Greenspring, wrote that Colonel Richard Lee (who was her great-grandfather) "died at his seat upon Dividing Creeks in North'd County, where he is buried and his tombstone is there to be seen." Portia, like her father and grandfather, Thomas Lee, was interested in family affairs and may have visited the grave herself.

It has long been supposed that this home of Colonel Richard Lee was on the site of the present Cobbs Hall, and that he was buried in the adjacent cemetery now known as the Harvey graveyard. But there is reason to believe that the spot half a mile away in the Cobbs hinterland known as the "old Lee graveyard" was his burial place and the approximate site of his home, the first house on the Cobbs tract.

Some interesting clues substantiating this theory were furnished by Captain William H. Carter, sole survivor of those who had lived in the second house, built by Charles³ Lee in 1720 and razed in 1853 when the third house was erected. Captain Carter received us in his little cottage in Northumberland near Wicomico Church, overlooking the Chesapeake, and told us that he was living at Cobbs, a child of about ten, when construction of the present house was begun. He had been placed there in the care of his great-aunt, Martha (Lee) Harvey after his parents' death, and was shortly sent elsewhere to live, but he remembered the older Cobbs Hall and described it as an old Colonial brick house with a wing on each end and a large hall through the middle. It stood on the site of the house which is there today, but faced at a slightly different angle.

Although about eighty at the time, Captain Carter was possessed of a rugged physique and perfect eyesight and hearing; his mind was completely clear and alert and his memory remarkable. He stated that when he was a boy there were no graves by the house but many tombs of the Lees in the old graveyard half a mile to the west, where Martha Harvey and her husband were buried. Their grave is unmarked today, but the tombstone of Martha's sister, Susan Lee, who married William Harvey and was Captain Carter's grandmother, is still to be seen at this spot, and it is logical to suppose that the two sisters were buried at the same place. Martha Lee Harvey died on January 6, 1876, two hundred fourteen years after Colonel Richard Lee's death. She was

the last person bearing the name of Lee to reside at Cobbs Hall and the last member of the family to be laid to rest in the old burying ground.

Captain Carter's statements were corroborated by other members of the Cobbs Hall line. In addition, this old graveyard was several times mentioned in records of land transactions, which led to the conjecture that at one time there had been some sort of enclosure, about twenty-seven by thirty feet, inside it.³⁴ This was confirmed by another old document, the will of Leeanna (Jones) Lee (daughter of Leeanna Lee and William Jones of Hickory Neck), who married her first cousin, Charles⁴ Lee of Cobbs, a great-grandson of the Emigrant. In this will, dated June 24, 1761, we read:

I hereby order that it is my will that [her executors] shall gett a Tombstone with a proper inscription of the value of Ten Pounds and put the same over the Grave of my late son Thomas Lee. And I also order and it is my will that the said [executors] shall after my decease . . . procure to be built a proper brick wall round the Burying place of myself and ancestors on this plantation where I now live, in case my Son-in-Law [her stepson] Charles Lee will permit the same and allow the Bricks to be made and wood to burn them off the same plantation.

Leeanna wanted to build a wall around the grave of her "ancestors," but just whom did she mean by this term? Her parents were probably buried at Hickory Neck, but her grandparents, Charles² Lee and his wife Elizabeth Metstand (who were also her husband's grandparents), would almost certainly have been buried here. Now if this spot contained the graves of her husband, children, and grandparents she most likely would have referred to it as the "family burying ground"; the use of the word "ancestors" implies that here were buried those whom she had never seen or known. While she would hardly use the term in referring to her own grandparents, she might do so in speaking collectively of both her grandparents and great-grandparents, and her great-grandparents were Colonel Richard Lee and his wife, Anne. So it follows that if Colonel Lee died and was buried at Dividing Creek, his grave would be *within* the enclosure built by direction of Leeanna Jones Lee. The next step was to determine whether such an enclosure had ever been built, and with this purpose in mind an expedition was made to the site of the graveyard.

The narrow and unfrequented lane leading to Cobbs Hall parallels the lane to Ditchley, a few miles outside Kilmarnock. It passes through a densely timbered woodland for about half a mile and then emerges to cross broad fields before reaching the present house. The old Lee graveyard is on the south side of this road, about two hundred feet from the point where it comes out of the woods, and exactly half a mile from the house. To reach the graveyard we crossed a small cornfield and entered a growth of timber covering about a quarter of an acre; there were several old trees and one sycamore of great age, and although there was little undergrowth the place was dark and gloomy. The ground was covered with periwinkle and honeysuckle, and there were two tombstones (one of them Susan Lee Harvey's) and some sunken graves. All the graves were at a distance of twenty-five to fifty feet from the trunk of the big sycamore, indicating that they had been arranged in three or four rows. Obviously all these graves were post-Revolutionary; the earlier ones would lie *inside* the wall.

We began to dig, sticking a probe through the periwinkle and into the soft soil, endeavoring to follow a straight line due west. One or two detached bricks were encountered, and then, sure enough, the foundations of a brick wall, one foot below the surface! In two hours it was laid bare, and there were the four sides of the wall, exactly twenty-seven by thirty-one feet, and not square with the property lines, as were the graves outside the wall, but running east and west, north and south. The part of the graveyard containing the two tombs and the sunken graves lay just outside the east wall. A sketch was made (Figure 6) and the earth replaced on top of the wall in order to conceal and protect it. Presumably, those buried inside would be:

1. *Colonel Richard Lee* (1664); after 1666 his wife, Anne, and her second husband, Edmund Lister.
2. *Captain Charles² Lee* (1701) and wife, *Elizabeth Metstand*.
3. *Major Charles³ Lee* (1740); his wife was probably buried elsewhere, as she married again.
4. *Charles⁴ Lee* (1747) and his two wives *Mary Lee* and *Leeanna Jones*.

At the east end of the cornfield and near the lane, beneath an ancient beech tree, we discovered a collection of very old and crude brick. Pieces of broken china have also been found at scattered places

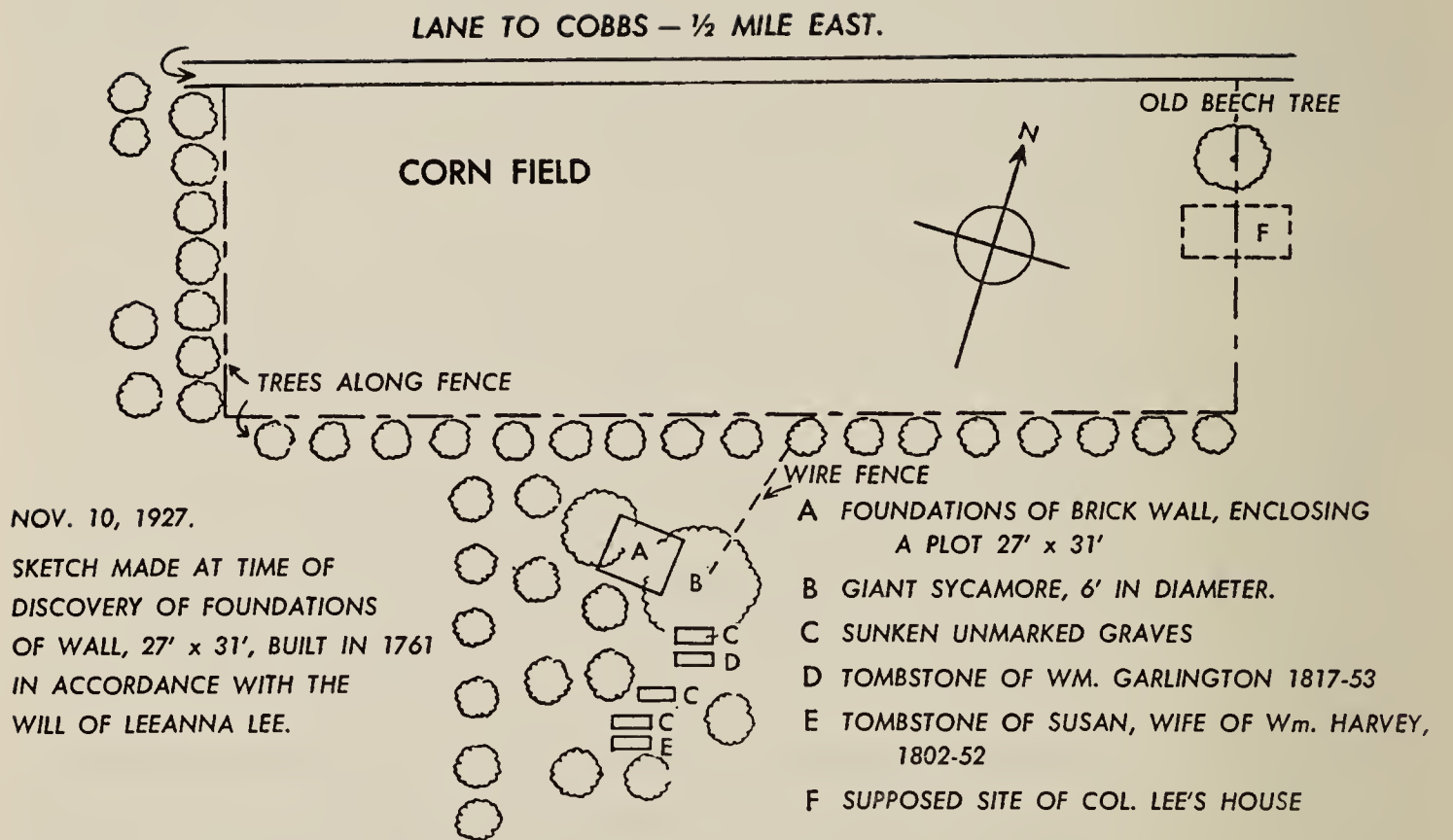


Figure 6. Sketch Showing Location of Old Lee Graveyard at Cobbs Hall.

in the cornfield, all of which could indicate the proximity of a long-forgotten home. This house probably stood near the old beech tree, beside which was once a fine stream of water, and the graveyard was in the garden of that original home, Colonel Richard Lee's Northumberland dwelling place.

NOTES

PART ONE

¹ Cazenove Lee based his time of arrival on the following records: "At a Quarter Court held at James City April 15, 1641, etc. Teste Richard Lee, C.C." See W. G. Stanard, "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Richmond: The Virginia Historical Society), II (1895), 416, 417. This shows that in the spring of 1641 he was serving as clerk of this court (composed of members of the Council), which met quarterly and acted as the Supreme Court of the Colony. Later research has discovered a reference to his serving in the same capacity as early as April and May of 1640, which leads to the conclusion that he may even have come to Virginia late in 1639. See Ludwell Montague, "Colonel Richard Lee the Emigrant," *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII (1954), 13. His authority is Nell M. Nugent's *Cavaliers and Pioneers* (Richmond: 1934), pp. 92, 96, 122.

² Edmund Jennings Lee, *Lee of Virginia* (Philadelphia: 1895), p. 66. A print and description of the cup are given here.

³ Material regarding the old Shropshire places was derived from: Robert W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* (London: J. R. Smith, 1854-60). Augustus J. C. Hare, *Shropshire* (London: G. Allen, 1898). John Murray, *A Handbook for Residents and Travellers in Shropshire and Cheshire* (London: J. Murray, 1897). Stanley Leighton, *Shropshire Houses Past and Present* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1901).

⁴ Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 4.

⁵ William Blackstone Lee, "The Lees of Langley and Coton," *Lee of Virginia*, p. 24. This description of the arms and this last statement are from an official report on the Lee arms by C. H. Athill, Richmond Herald of the College of Arms.

⁶ As quoted in *Lee of Virginia*, p. 39.

⁷ The official pedigree registered at the Heralds' College at the Visitation of 1623 was undoubtedly based on evidence furnished by Richard Lee of Langley and Humphrey Lee of Coton at the first Visitation in 1569. Since the means for absolute accuracy did not then exist, there were bound to be errors in any pedigree going back to remote times. These errors in the early generations, together with William Blackstone Lee's corrections based on Eyton's and Hardy's researches (*Lee of Virginia*, p. 26), are set forth below. The corrections have been incorporated into our composite "Pedigree of Colonel Richard Lee" found in Chart A of this volume.

1. On the official pedigree of 1623 Hugo de Lega appears as the progenitor of the Shropshire Lees, and father to Reyner (Reginald) de Lega (de la Lee), which is untenable. (See *Lee of Virginia*, p. 23.) Reginald was the first to bear the fesse and billets of the Lee arms and the first provable ancestor.
2. The next two generations were transposed in the pedigree. Reyner's (Reginald's) son was given as Sir John, father of Sir Thomas, whereas Sir Thomas was son of Reginald and father to three sons: Sir John, Reginald, and Sir Thomas. This second Reginald was the middle rather than the eldest son.
3. The pedigree was also confused in the next generation. Each of the three sons of Sir Thomas (Sir John, Reginald, and Sir Thomas) himself had a son John, but the Sir John (husband of Matilda de Erdington) given on the pedigree as Reginald's son was actually his nephew and the son of Sir Thomas.
4. Sir John Lee and Matilda de Erdington had a son, Sir John of Roden and Stanton, whose son *Roger*, mistakenly called *Robert* on the pedigree, married Margaret Astley. Hardy thought this Roger was son of Sir John of Roden's brother, Sir Thomas of Okehirst, on evidence in one of the Harleian MSS about 1593, but the inheritance of Roden and Stanton supports the other view.
5. Two errors occurred in the pedigree in the succeeding generation:
 - (a) Another Roger Lee, husband of Johanna Burnell and therefore the first Lee of Langley, was listed as the son of the above Roger Lee and Margaret Astley, whereas he was the son of John Lee of Pimhill and Lee (Lea) Hall.
 - (b) Robert Lee, husband of Roger Lee and Johanna Burnell's daughter, Petronilla, was listed as Roger and Johanna's *son* instead of their *son-in-law*. There has been much confusion over his parentage. Eyton and Hardy thought that he was the son of Sir John Lee of Roden and Stanton; Ludwell Montague thinks he had to be a son of Roger Lee and Margaret Astley, since his descendants, the Langley Lees, quartered their arms with those of Astley, something they could not have done had not Robert been a direct descendant of this family. We follow this theory as being the most plausible.

⁸ See "The Pedigree of Colonel Richard Lee" in Chart A.

⁹ This carving and the sword of Captain Charles Lee of Cobbs are owned by Mr. Emory Currell of Kilmarnock, Virginia. His wife, now deceased, was Harriet Broun, a descendant.

¹⁰ The bookplate appears in a volume in the author's library entitled *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*, by W. Warburton, 1741. On the title page is the signature "H. Lee, 1816." The seal ring was in the possession of Mrs. Cornelia Post Niver of Baltimore in 1922.

¹¹ The following sources confirm his offices:

Clerk, 1640-43:

Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 13.

Stanard, *Ibid.*, II, 416, 417.

Conway Robinson, *Ibid.*, XI (1904), 284. "Notes from Council and General Court Records."

Attorney General, 1643-49:

Robinson, *Ibid.*, VIII (1901), 70.

High Sheriff of York, 1646:

William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine (Richmond), XXIII, (1914), 16. "Notes from the Records of York County."

Burgess for York, 1647:

Ibid., 273, 275, 276.

Secretary of State for Virginia, 1649-52:

Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, p. 55. Patent of May 24, 1651.

Councillor, 1651-52, 1660-64:

Virginia Magazine of History, VIII, 107; XI, 37; XII (1905), 205.

Justice of Northumberland, 1663-64:

Ibid., I (1894), 456. This office did not actually amount to much; it was a recognition accorded to all the great landowners and public figures of that day.

See Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 3-49, for a comprehensive account of Colonel Lee's public service and offices.

¹² Forrest was commissioned by Dr. J. Packard Laird of Philadelphia. At Dr. Laird's death the expense of the research was assumed by his brother, W. Winder Laird, and subsequently by the latter's widow.

¹³ The Norroy King-of-Arms at the Heralds' College held the view that the engraving on the cup was distinctly 18th rather than 17th century, which brought up the possibility that the inscription might have been obliterated by constant cleaning, and later renewed, accounting for the discrepancy in style. LeHardy's research discovered a record that this had indeed been done; the cup was re-engraved in 1745.

¹⁴ The Bible record ruled out once and for all the contention of certain genealogists that Colonel Lee was descended from another family of English Lees or from a different member of the Coton house. This theory was first promulgated by E. C. Mead in his most unreliable *Genealogical History of the Lee Family* (New York: Richardson and Co., 1868), where, without evidence of any kind, he identified the Emigrant with the Richard Lee (born 1622, married to Elizabeth Langdon) of St. Olave's, Southwark, who was a grandson of Thomas, eldest of the eight sons of John Lee of Coton. Shortly after this the Rev. F. G. Lee of Lambeth published an article entitled "The Lineal Descent of General Robert E. Lee," in which he grafted the above Richard Lee of Southwark (whom he also confused with the Emigrant), onto the pedigree of the Lees of Buckinghamshire, as the seventh son of Sir Robert Lee of Hulcott (who died at Stratford Langton in 1616) and thus the brother of Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley. These views were supported by the fact that Colonel Lee's English home was also at Stratford Langton, and that his grandson called his own home Ditchley, but this was merely coincidental evidence, and inconclusive. These contentions were satisfactorily disproved by J. H. Lea in the *New England Genealogical and Historical Register* (Boston) for January, 1890, and by William Blackstone Lee in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 1892 (reprint in *Lee of Virginia*, p. 35), but the Cobbs Hall Bible record furnished positive and final refutation.

¹⁵ Cazenove Lee's supposition that the Emigrant was born in 1600 was based on nothing more than the date of his parents' marriage, 1599. Montague thinks

it more likely that he was born in 1613, the proved birth date of a Richard Lee who could have been he. This date is more consistent with his arrival in 1640 as an unmarried junior colonial official, and with his appearance in the portrait of 1661, which is that of a man of forty-eight rather than sixty-one. See Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 11.

¹⁶ Besides Coton Hall (the manor house) there were The Hay (the dower house), Nordley Farm, about a mile northeast of Coton Hall, and several others. See Gladys Howard Thompson, *The King's Ley* (Shrewsbury: Wilding and Son, Ltd., 1951). The only basis for the contention that Colonel Richard Lee was born "on the banks of the Thames" was the supposition that he had *inherited* the Stratford Langton estate, but research has proved that he *bought* it. LeHardy discovered the deed of purchase. See Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 35, 36.

¹⁷ It may have been the engraver who first made the error when trying to decipher Colonel Lee's handwriting in the order for John Lee's cup. Montague says that Nordley was also written "Norley," without the *d*, which might have been taken for "Morton" in handwriting that was not too legible. He thinks that the tombstone was probably ordered by Richard II's son, Richard III, who was living in London, and who, out of touch with his family, may have referred to the cup at Oxford for his information. See Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 7.

¹⁸ It furnished the birth date of Colonel Lee's youngest son Charles, and of three successive Charles Lees of Cobbs Hall. Mrs. Sommer also sent a photograph of an ancient painting of the Coton arms, an elaborate representation with a Grecian portico and other ornamentation, in the base of which is the medallion of a man who appears to be Colonel Lee himself, for it is an excellent likeness. In addition there were photographs of old china decorated with the Lee crest, and one of an old painting entitled "Mrs. Richard Lee," said to be based on a still older portrait.

¹⁹ For an expansion of this account of Colonel Lee see Ludwell Montague, "Colonel Richard Lee the Emigrant," *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 3-49. This scholarly study of the Emigrant's ancestry, land holdings, and public life in relation to the historical and political background of the times is the most comprehensive account of Colonel Richard Lee which has so far appeared; it is based on many years of research on the part of the author, and comprises in addition all available information from other sources up to the present time.

²⁰ It has recently been discovered that Richard Lee's wife's maiden name was Constable, and that she came over about the same time, as a member of the household of the Royal Governor, Sir Francis Wyatt. She had been a ward of Sir John Thorowgood in England prior to this. She and Richard Lee were presumably wed soon after their arrival, probably in 1640 or 1641. See Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 14. In the Virginia Historical Society is a photostat of a page of John Smith's *General History* containing a written note by John Gibbon to the effect that "Cognomen Dominae Lei fuit Constable." ("The family name of Mistress Lee was Constable.")

²¹ "Wickacomoco" signified a group of dwellings or village, thus "Capohowasick Wickacomoco" literally meant "Capohowasick Town." There were two Capohowasicks on the north shore of the York River: the one on the site of the present Capahosic, about twelve miles above Gloucester Point, was shown

on John Smith's map of 1608; the other, near Gloucester Point, appears on the official map made for King James in 1610 and on John Smith's map of 1612. It was near Richard Lee's home and was the Capohowasick Wickacomoco of John Lee's cup. See Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 17. John Lee was evidently born while his family was living at this place.

²² "At a Court holden for the county of Yorke, the 25th day of May, 1646, present," etc. W^m Whitby, gentleman, sells to Richard Lee 100 acres of land "on the north side of Yorke river at ye head of Tindall's creek where the s^d Lee lived before the massacre" [the Indian massacre of 1644]. *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXII, 237.

²³ These 550 acres, plus 500 other acres on Poropotank Creek, and the 800 acres at Dividing Creek (the Ditchley tract of 1651), were acquired through the headrights of thirty-eight immigrants unable to pay their own passage, who were brought over by Colonel Lee in his own ship on his return from Breda in 1650. See Montague, *Virginia Magazine of History*, LXII, 23.

²⁴ Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, p. 56; Northumberland Records, 1706-20, p. 65. (State Archives, Virginia State Library, Richmond); *Royal Patent Book IV*, 375 (Virginia State Library). In the latter the date was erroneously copied from the original Northumberland records as 1657; 1651 is the correct date, for the patent gives Berkeley as Governor and Richard Lee as Secretary of State, which would have been true in 1651 but not in 1657.

²⁵ Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, p. 53.

²⁶ These lands came into possession of Richard Lee II and were willed by him to his son, Philip, founder of the Maryland house. See Appendix B, "Notes on the Maryland Lees."

²⁷ They appear to have renounced their share of the Virginia lands, for there is a deed of release to John Lee dated June 23, 1673, in which his sister Anne and her husband Thomas Youell relinquished all claims to any share in Colonel Lee's estate.

²⁸ According to an agreement between Hancock and Charles, the latter's daughter Leeanna was to receive 200 acres out of Hancock's tract known as Hickory Neck. So Richard Lee II specified that this tract be used by Leeanna (by then married to William Jones) during her lifetime and revert to her brother Charles Lee, Jr., or his heirs at her death. See Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, p. 521, for Richard II's will, and also p. 559. Also *Northumberland Court Records* for September 9, 1707, and for February 17, 1707 (Indenture).

²⁹ William Lee's will cannot be found, but records show that it was duly offered for probate on September 16, 1696, by Mary Schreever. "Upon petition of Mary Shrever, formerly Heath, executrix of the last will and testament of Captain William Lee, the said will here in court produced, which, in the court's opinion . . . was writ by his own hand, but the evidence not forthcoming [the will evidently was not witnessed], a probate is granted her of the last will and testament." See *Northumberland Court Order Book*, p. 10. The known facts in the case were that Mary, wife of Bartholomew Schreever, had previously been the wife (probably his second) of Thomas Heath, who had died by 1690, and by whom she had had two sons, Thomas and Samuel, a daughter, Elizabeth, and possibly another daughter. In the speculation over whether Mary was William's wife or his daughter, these things should be considered:

1. She was executrix of his will and heiress to most of his estate, but while she is described in documents as "the late Mary Heath" or as "executrix of Captain William Lee" she is never once referred to as his widow or his daughter, nor did any of her children bear the name of William Lee.
2. The will of her husband Bartholomew Schreever (1720) leaves mourning rings to Thomas and Samuel Heath and their wives *and* to Charles Lee and wife of Cobbs Hall, and Richard Lee of Ditchley. These rings were left to one's nearest and dearest relatives and friends. However, he also left rings to Thomas Waddy and wife, and Thomas and Francis Waddy were executors of Mary's will, so the Waddy family seems to have been as close as the Lees, and Mary may even have been a Waddy.
3. In contrast to his actions regarding the heirs of his brothers, Hancock and Charles, Richard Lee II sued the Schreevers for recovery of William's lands, and thereby from any possibility of their passing to any of Mary's children, an unlikely procedure had she been his own niece.
4. Mary's sons Thomas and Samuel Heath were summoned into court by Richard Lee II in 1708, along with Mary and Schreever, John Burne (her daughter Elizabeth's husband) and John Curtis, who may have been the husband of another daughter. Although it seems unlikely that the Heath children would be parties to Richard's suit to recover his brother William's land if Mary were not William's daughter, the naming of them actually proves nothing one way or the other.
5. William Lee was born in 1651. Had he married at twenty, in 1671, and Mary been born the following year, she *might* have married Thomas Heath, her first husband, by 1688, when she would have been sixteen. But remember that Heath was dead in 1690 and that she had three, possibly four children by him. It is possible, though unlikely, that she could have had four children in three years. Also, one of these children (Elizabeth) was married to her *third* husband (John Burne) by 1708, which makes the whole theory even more improbable, for even supposing Elizabeth to have been Mary's eldest child (and thus born late in 1688), she would have been only twenty in 1708, a very young age to have had three husbands.
6. If it were possible that Mary could have been William's *child*, born not earlier than 1672, married and the mother of a daughter herself thrice wed by 1708, then it was likewise possible that she could instead have been his *wife*, between 1690, when Heath died, and 1696, William's death date, though some hold that she married Schreever too soon after William's death to have been the latter's widow.

In our opinion she was neither William's wife nor his child, but some authorities claim that he did marry and that Mary was his daughter. See articles by Mrs. O. A. Keach in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, XXXVIII (1930), 79-82, and the *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXIV (1915), 109; also a line of descent in the latter periodical, IX (1901), 197-200, furnished by James A. Leach of Richmond.

³⁰ After the court awarded it to Richard II he applied in 1710 to the Northern Neck Proprietary for a patent to it, and was given a clear title. See *Abstracts of Northern Neck Grants*, IV, 23 (Virginia State Library, Richmond). After Thomas came into possession, he purchased an additional 150 acres bordering on the western side of Bishop's Neck and the Cobbs property, and left all

these Northumberland lands to his eldest son, Philip Ludwell Lee. They descended to his daughter Matilda, wife of Light Horse Harry Lee. On November 12, 1799, the latter, with Ludwell Lee and Richard Bland Lee as trustees of Matilda's estate, sold 496 acres to George Lee of Northumberland, one of the Ditchley Lees. Beyond that point we have not traced the title.

³¹ See Appendix D, "The Missing Children of Richard Lee of Ditchley."

³² Charles⁶ Lee had deeded 118 acres called "The Hill" to Roger Hughlett about 1794, and Richard⁶ Lee in 1795 had sold 200 acres to his brother Kendall.

³³ In 1835 he acquired from William Harding an interest in the property which the latter had purchased, probably from one of Martha Lee Harvey's sisters. A few weeks later another tract, which may have been part of the old Lee lands, was secured from Hiram Bingham. A place called China Grove, containing 200 acres, was deeded to Harvey in 1837 by Jeremiah B. Jeter and wife, and at about the same time 68 acres were had from Thomas L. P. James. For \$1,000 a fifth interest in the estate was secured in 1829 from Thomas Hughlett (probably the same Hughlett who had married Martha's sister Elizabeth), and in 1840 two other sisters, Susan and Jane, sold their interests of $\frac{1}{5}$ each to Mr. Harvey. The 200-acre tract sold in 1795 by Richard⁶ Lee to his brother Kendall was bought back for \$2,400 from Kendall's heirs, four of whom resided in Northumberland and three in Chariton County, Missouri. In 1856 a 77-acre tract bounding the old Lee graveyard, which Richard⁶ Lee had sold for \$775 in 1801, was purchased from Thomas Coppedge for \$1,925. By 1871, after the Civil War, Harvey was compelled to sell this piece of land for \$525, a depreciation of 73 per cent.

³⁴ Some of the land adjacent to it was sold in 1801, when Richard⁶ Lee conveyed to Cyrus Coppedge a tract of 67 acres lying between the graveyard and Weasel Cove. When in 1856 Lewis Harvey recovered this land, then called 77 acres, from Thomas Coppedge, a graveyard 27 x 30 feet is mentioned, evidently referring to an enclosure. In 1871 Harvey sold this tract, then but 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, to Logan F. Haydon, $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre in the northwest corner being designated as a graveyard; in 1875 he sold 150 acres of the Cobbs property to R. T. L. Beale et al., reserving a graveyard of one acre. See *Northumberland Deeds*: 17, 557; 28, 584; 29, 90; 29, 450; 30, 503; 31, 373; 31, 372; B, 389; D, 525; E, 534.

Part Two ❧ ❧ ❧

THE GREAT-HOUSE
OF THE LEES

Part Two

THE GREAT-HOUSE OF THE LEES

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THOMAS LEE OF STRATFORD

1699-1750

Naval Officer and Receiver of Customs for the Potomac

Resident Agent for the Northern Neck Proprietary

Gentleman Justice of Westmoreland

Member of the House of Burgesses

Member of His Majesty's Council

Commissioner to the Treaty of Lancaster

Founder and President of the Ohio Company

President of the Council

Acting Governor of the Colony of Virginia

Builder of Stratford

Chapter I

THOMAS LEE THE BUILDER

I. HERITAGE

THOMAS LEE, fifth son of Richard Lee II and grandson of Colonel Richard Lee, was born in 1690 at his father's home on the "Machotick property" in Westmoreland. He started out with the handicap of little education, and his patrimony consisted of a cow pasture in Northumberland, but by his own efforts he rose to be the foremost Virginian of his day and the largest landowner the Lee family has ever produced (Plate XI). To get an idea of the circumstances in which he grew up and the factors which contributed to so notable a career, let us first go back to his father, the second Richard, and see what things were like in his day.

Born in Virginia in 1646, young Richard Lee II was sent to school at Oxford, where he acquitted himself with great brilliance and seemed headed for a career in the church, but he elected rather to return to the life of a Virginia gentleman. From his father he had inherited the plantation called Paradise, in Gloucester. There he probably lived until the death of his older brother, John, when he fell heir to the latter's Westmoreland estate and moved to that place.¹ His wife was Laetitia Corbin, eldest daughter of Henry Corbin and his wife, Alice Eltonhead, and by her he had seven children.² His sons Philip, Thomas, and Henry were the progenitors, respectively, of the Maryland, Stratford, and Leesylvania lines. Whether Richard and Laetitia Lee lived on in John Lee's house or built a larger one to accommodate their growing family is not known, but the latter supposition seems likely.

In 1676, when not yet thirty, Richard Lee became a member of the King's Council. This body also sat as the highest court in the Colony and the power it enjoyed was very great; he served on it, with one or two breaks, until 1699, when ill health forced him to retire. In 1690

his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to King William had cost him his seat, but he had been reinstated within a year. At the time of his appointment to the Council the influence of several powerful figures, but recently dead, could still be felt. John Carter, first of the famous family of that name, had been dead less than seven years; Peter Jenings and Theodorick Bland had died four years before, and Augustine Warner, the common ancestor of George Washington and Robert E. Lee, but two years previously. Thomas Ludwell was to live two more years, and Philip Ludwell would survive another generation. During Richard Lee's term of service these men were sworn as councillors: Robert Beverley, John Custis I, Ralph Wormeley, John Page, William Byrd I, Augustine Warner II, Isaac Allerton, Edward Hill II, John Armistead, Benjamin Harrison, John Custis II, Edmund Jenings, and Robert ("King") Carter. Before his death the names of Lewis Burwell II, Philip Ludwell II, William Byrd II, William Fitzhugh, Robert Porteus, and Nathaniel Harrison were added to the Council rolls. These were the men who were Richard Lee's friends and associates; Virginia was indebted to them for much of her progress during the next generation. They undoubtedly made a deep impression on young Thomas Lee, who must have known most of them in his youth.

Richard Lee II also held the position of Naval Officer and Receiver of Customs for the Potomac, to which he was appointed by Sir Edmund Andros, the royal governor. He enjoyed the perquisites of this office for about ten years. His mature years cover a period of hard times and severe depression in Virginia, a fact which answers the criticism that he was not as capable and energetic as his father. The first Richard Lee had come to Virginia during the reign of Charles I, that great exponent of the Divine Right of Kings, had seen the failure of the democratic revolution in England in 1649, had passed without too much hardship through the Cromwellian era, and had lived to behold the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II. The second Richard could boast, as doubtless he did, of having been a subject of Charles I, Cromwell, Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and that "good Queen Anne" who, because of her holdings in the Royal African Company, is declared to have been the greatest slave dealer in history. Stirring events took place during his lifetime: the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the War of the Spanish Succession, the capture of Gibraltar, Marlborough's victory at Blen-

heim, the Treaty of Utrecht. Other events, closer to home, such as the Dutch attack of 1667 and the unsuccessful attempt at revolution in 1676 known as Bacon's Rebellion, caused setbacks to the Colony from which it was slow in recovering and also inflicted great individual hardships. Lee had entered public life during the worst phase of Governor Berkeley's regime, and had supported him, his close friend, in the latter uprising. Its failure caused him to rejoice, for he could not know that Bacon was a century ahead of his time. What he did learn was that in return for his loyalty to the Crown he was subjected to the merciless exactions of the Navigations Acts and other laws designed with the theory that colonies exist for the sole purpose of being exploited by those who make the laws in the mother country. And in a report to the English government regarding those persons who had suffered because of the Rebellion there is this mention of Richard Lee:

Major Richard Lee, a Loyall Discreet Person worthy of the place to which hee was lately advanced by being one of his Majesties Council in Virginia, and as to his loses wee are credibly informed they were very great, and that Lee was Imprisoned by Bacon above seaven weeks together, at least 100 miles from his owne home, whereby Lee received great Prejudice in his health by hard usage and very greatly in his whole Estate by his absence.

These things may have had something to do with the fact that Richard II's most famous son, Thomas, did not receive the customary English education, although it must not be forgotten that Thomas had four older brothers, and actually had at least as many advantages as any other fifth son and more than most. His father was a great student of the classics who knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and possessed a splendid library, and it was probably due to his scholarly attainments that young Thomas, growing up in this erudite atmosphere, managed to acquire something approximating the education of his contemporaries and enjoyed the mental growth he afterwards displayed. He learned "the languages" after he was grown, and became fairly adept in both Greek and Latin.

Richard Lee II died in 1714, a few months before George I, accompanied by two mistresses, crossed the Channel to become King of England and establish the House of Hanover. He was laid to rest beside his wife in the garden adjoining his home; this was to become

the family burying ground later known as Burnt House Field, for reasons we shall shortly see. In his will he divided his Machodoc properties into two estates: the "2600 acres of land in Cople Parish in Westmoreland, being the land on which I now dwell" (Mount Pleasant) went to his eldest son Richard III, a merchant in London; his son Henry received "the residue of all my lands in Cople Parish . . . ," on which he later built Lee Hall. To his son Thomas, Richard Lee left a mere fifteen hundred acres (the Bishop's Neck plantation in Northumberland and Rehoboth in Maryland), but starting with this meager inheritance Thomas Lee, by his "industry and parts," amassed a very great fortune. The era in which he entered upon the career which was to last for nearly forty years is described by John Spencer Bassett, in his introduction to *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd*:

The aristocratic form of Virginia society was fixed soon after the Restoration of the Stuarts. It proceeded from economic, social, and political causes. On its economic side it was supported by land and servitude; on its social side it was sustained by the ideals, and somewhat by the blood, of the English country gentleman; on its political side it was fostered by a system of appointments to office which left the least possible room for a democracy. In the century which preceded the Revolution it was in its greatest vigor. Like all aristocracies which are not renewed from outside sources it at length went into decay, but in the century of its greatest vigor it produced a type of leadership which few other communities have equalled. These leaders of men have won the admiration of numerous people by their conservative progress, by their political integrity, and, most of all, by their force of character.

2. LAND

To the historian, the Falls of the Potomac will always suggest the Lees of Virginia. The first Richard pushed his interests as far as Great Hunting Creek (Alexandria); his grandson Thomas pushed on to the Falls. He may have visited them as a boy, along with others from Westmoreland; his neighbor, Daniel McCarty, soon to be his brother-in-law, was the first person to take out a land grant, in 1709, on the upper river at the Sugar Lands. A few years later he was to make use of his knowledge of this vicinity.

Thomas Lee succeeded his father as Naval Officer for the Potomac,

but it was his appointment in 1711 as Resident Agent for the Northern Neck Proprietary that gave him his real start in life. When Lady Culpeper, widow of the Virginia governor, died in 1710, her daughter, Lady Fairfax, was left with the responsibility of an involved estate, part of which was in the Proprietary. Concerned that so broad a domain was not yielding a larger income, she severed relations with Micajah Perry and Robert Carter and in their stead turned over her affairs to Thomas Corbin, a London merchant whose house had been identified with Virginia for two generations. He in turn nominated as the Virginia agents his brother-in-law, Edmund Jenings, and the latter's nephew, Thomas Lee. Since Jenings was in England at the time, young Lee took over the books and began the new agency. The year was 1711, and for four years he was in sole charge in Virginia. Fairfax Harrison gives us an idea of his abilities even at so early an age; we can also see the beginnings of his immense land holdings:

Lady Fairfax's power of attorney to Lee was dated December 11, 1711, but he did not begin to sign grants until September 1713. His notes on the grant books, and particularly his inauguration of the practice of entering the surveyors' plats with the grants testify to the enthusiasm and thoroughness with which he then took hold of the job. Although the greater number of the grants he issued were on the waters of Elk Marsh and Occoquan, it may fairly be assumed that his zeal carried him on tours of observation over all parts of the proprietary where it was safe to go at all; but it was not until 1716, when his uncle Jenings returned to Virginia and himself took over the responsibility, that Lee made use, for his own account, of the information he had acquired. . . . Beginning with a small grant of 285 acres, issued by Jenings in the name of Richard Lee "on the upper side of Lee's Creek" . . . he closed the books of the Jenings agency in August 1719 with two grants in his own name, aggregating 3,700 acres, at the Falls and on the lower side of Lee's Creek. Thereafter, during Robert Carter's second agency, Thomas Lee went on until he had accumulated 16,000 acres in what is now Loudoun, on either bank of Broad Run. It is of interest that in doing this he made an earnest and persistent attempt to impose his name upon the stream we know as Goose Creek. If he did not succeed, that name is nevertheless perpetuated in the vicinity; ³ in lieu of "Lee's Creek" the town of Leesburg honors his memory.

During Thomas Lee's tenure as Resident Agent the Land Office was located in the old Lee house in Westmoreland which had been

his father's home and which now belonged to his older brother, Richard Lee³ of London. Thomas and his brother Henry leased the place from Richard Lee and lived there together for a number of years.

Young Lee applied himself with diligence, and introduced new methods which have endeared him to antiquarians. Old Volume V of the Northern Neck records could in itself be considered a memorial to him. Through the Northern Neck Grant Books and the Royal Patent Books we can witness the growth of his material resources, while the court records of Westmoreland also give us glimpses of him as his public career progressed. The first mention of him in the county records occurs on December 7, 1711, when the power of attorney to receive the quitrents of Lady Fairfax is duly recorded. This is followed on November 6, 1716, by the document from Richard Lee³ of London, leasing his Mount Pleasant estate to Thomas and Henry Lee and Reuben Welch. After Richard's death in 1718 his widow, Martha, deeded this estate in trust to "Thomas Lee, Merchant," and "Henry Lee of Essex." Henry Lee was then living in Essex, but was soon to build Lee Hall on his portion of the Machodoc lands.

It was also during Thomas Lee's agency that the seating of Fauquier began. Men's minds had been turned toward that locality in the summer of 1716, when Governor Spotswood and his retinue of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe made their romantic expedition over the mountains to Swift Run Gap. This colorful excursion may have had some effect on turning Thomas Lee's thoughts westward. Or perhaps his Uncle Hancock may have talked to him about the bright future of the upper country. At any rate, something fired his imagination, and thereby directly affected the opening up of the westerly lands. When Thomas laid aside the cares of the Proprietor's office he began to acquire lands on his own account. The first of all the grants issued to this gentleman with the keen eye for good sites was for the tract of forty-two hundred acres in Fauquier on which the town of Warrenton nestles today. Actually, the patent to this land should have been by all rights issued to the Iroquois Indians rather than to the agent of Lady Fairfax, for the Indians held title to the Piedmont by virtue of a treaty executed in 1684 and not relinquished until a later agreement was reached at Albany in 1722. However, Thomas Lee's title was good in Williamsburg if not on the banks of Cedar Run.

It is a happy coincidence that the general outline of this property patented in far-off 1718 should resemble that of a Virginia ham. It

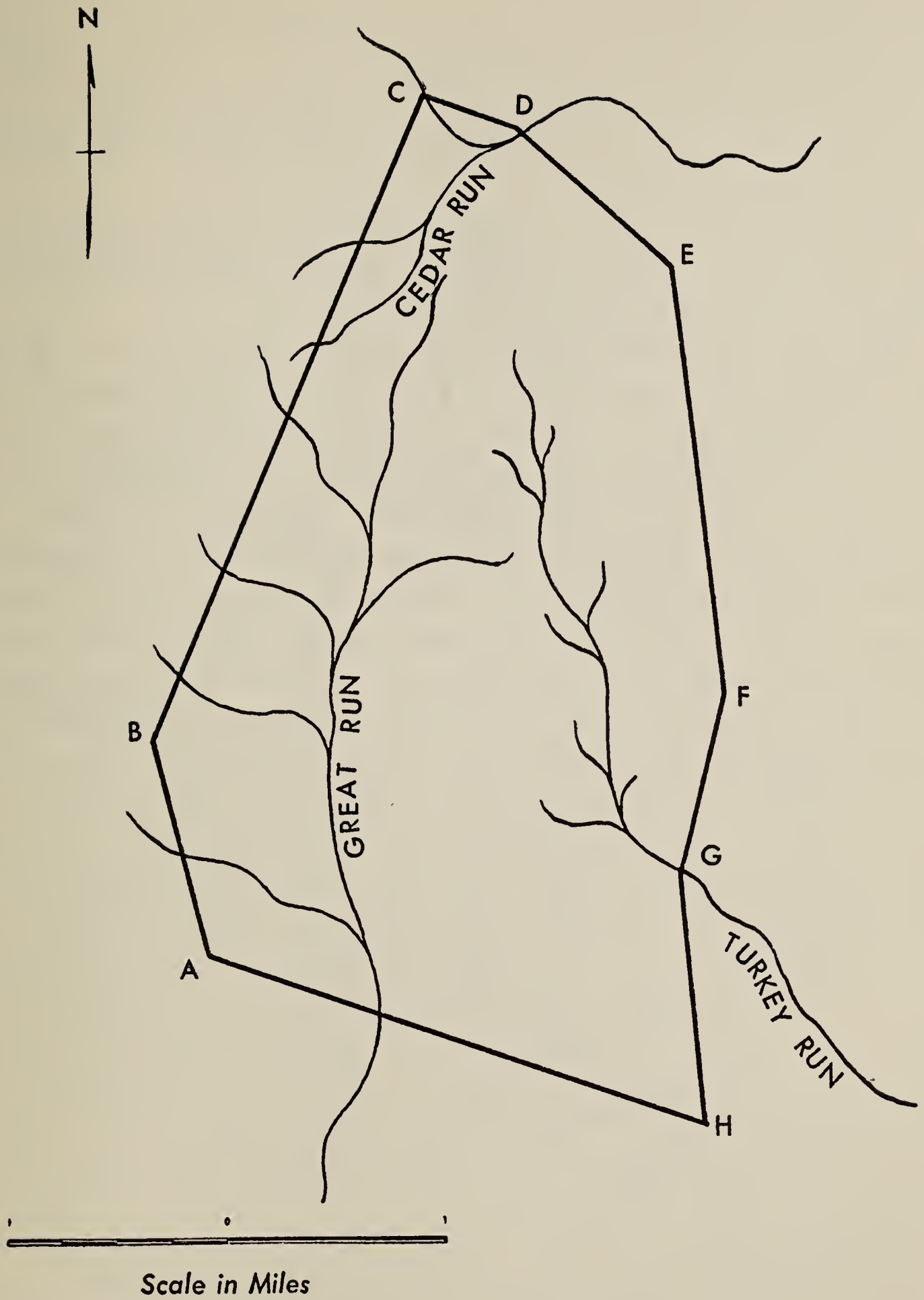


Figure 7. Plot of Thomas Lee's 4,200-Acre Tract in Fauquier. (Survey of 1718.)

was a fair land when Thomas Lee first gazed upon it and it is a fair land today. Originally it was part of Richmond County; in 1750, when he devised it to his son, Richard Henry, it was in Prince William. Fauquier County was formed in 1759, so when Richard Henry Lee was entering upon his career his lands were by then a part of that county, as they are today.

Thomas' patent of 1718 contains a description of the property, a plat, and a survey. The plat is shown in Figure 7, which is a fair copy of the one in the Patent Book in Richmond.

The next step in the identification of this property was to define the bounds of the original tract by locating the various stations on a more modern map, in relation to some of the present-day landmarks. It is still possible to do this, but a few more years and the construction of new roads and consequent obliteration of these old landmarks will make such identification difficult, if not impossible. Today the four streams on the property are blessed with the same names, the old roads follow the same courses, and the huge trees, ancient stone walls, and the bridges and fords tell their story. Some help was afforded by the location of contiguous grants, but the greatest assistance was derived from surveys made many years later, when the tract was leased in small sections during the ownership of Richard Henry Lee. There were about fifty of these leases, and by piecing them together we can get a good idea of the location and extent of Thomas Lee's original tract. In Figure 8 the old stations A to H of the survey of 1718 are superimposed upon the most important of the leases; also shown are some of the well-known landmarks of that day and this. We see the road to Winchester, which was in use in 1759, as was the one to Turkey Run Church. The intersection of Lee's Ridge Road and Culpeper Road is of interest, for from here the Springs Road winds down the hill and crosses the run, just below which point a side road known as Old Manor Road led to Station B of Thomas' patent.

By the time of the Fauquier patents Thomas Lee had become a person of some stature in the colony; his land holdings were beginning to be impressive, he had made a start in his public career, and in the spring of 1722 he took on the obligations of matrimony. Sometime between May 23rd and May 30th of that year he married Hannah

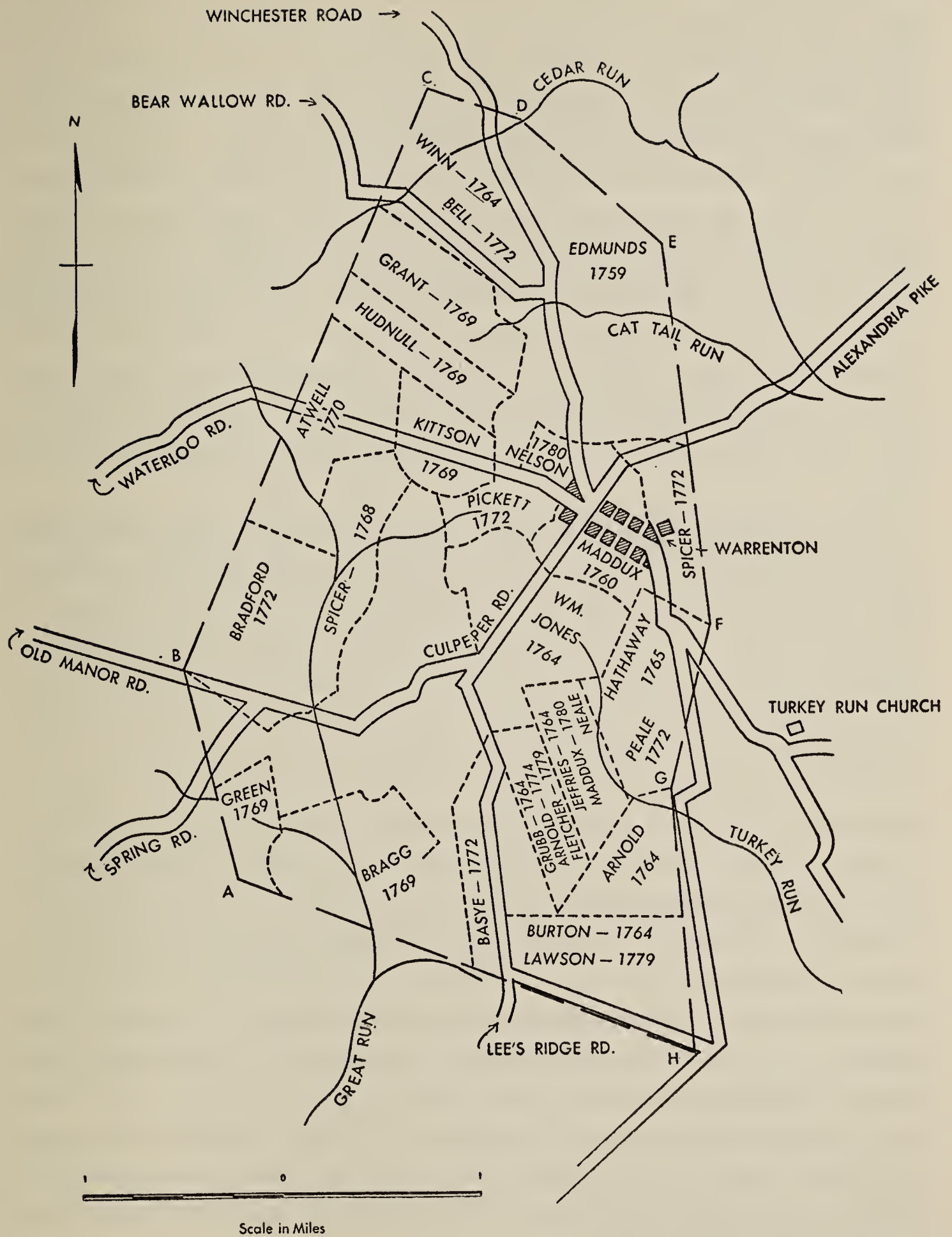


Figure 8. Some of the Leases Executed by Richard Henry Lee on Thomas Lee's Tract in Fauquier, 1759-1780.

Ludwell, daughter of Philip Ludwell II and his wife, Hannah Harrison. She was born on December 5, 1701, at Rich Neck, a Ludwell place near Jamestown where her parents were living at the time. Later they moved to nearby Greenspring, the fabulous estate which had come into possession of the Ludwells through the marriage of the first Philip Ludwell to the widow of Governor Berkeley, whose home it was.⁴ Here the ceremony took place, and here, just before the wedding, a marriage bond was executed in which Thomas Lee acknowledged receipt of the 600 pounds sterling left to his bride by her grandfathers, Philip Ludwell and Benjamin Harrison.⁵ It certainly could not be said that either Thomas or Hannah had rushed into matrimony, for he was thirty-one and she twenty, and in the Virginia of that day this meant that she was on the verge of being considered an old maid.

For the first few years of their married life they made their home at the old Machodoc homestead. This place was pleasantly situated near the banks of the Potomac in Cople Parish. It can be located on the map of the Northern Neck (*endpaper*); old Nomini Church is nearby, and the entrance to the estate is just outside the little community of Hague. But Thomas had other ideas about where his permanent home was to be. He had long had his eyes on the lands known as Cliffs Plantation, about twenty miles up the Potomac, and on February 14, 1718, had purchased fourteen hundred forty-three acres of this property from Nathaniel Pope.⁶ His brother, Philip Lee, had built the magnificent Blenheim in Maryland about 1704, his brother Henry was planning Lee Hall; on the Cliffs property Thomas was to erect the house he called Stratford, in affectionate remembrance of his grandfather's English home at Stratford Langton in Essex. Later, on July 7, 1732, he further added to the estate by purchasing from Samuel Hallows twenty-four hundred acres of "plantible land" and two hundred sixty acres of "marsh land." Thus Stratford Plantation comprised forty-one hundred three acres all told. It was upon the Hallows property that Richard Henry Lee, in the next generation, built his home, Chantilly.

Thomas and Hannah were still living at Mount Pleasant while Stratford was building, when, early in 1729, the house was destroyed by fire. There are two accounts of this event, the first of which appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* of February 4, 1729:

Last Wednesday night, Col. Thomas Lee's fine house in Virginia was burnt, his Office, barn and out-houses, his plate, cash (to the sum of £10,000) papers, and everything entirely lost. His lady and child were forced to be thrown out of a window, and he himself hardly escaped the flames, being much scorched. A white girl about twelve years old (a servant) perished in the fire. It is said that Col. Lee's loss is not less than £50,000.

The British Transcripts in the Library of Congress preserve the account of this disaster as furnished by Governor Gooch to the Lords of Trade:

Nor, my Lords, are these all our Fears: the secret Robberies and other villainous Attempts of a more pernicious Crew of transported Felons, are yet more intollerable; witness the Dwelling House and Out Houses of Mr. Thomas Lee which in the night time were set on fire by these villains and in an instant burnt to the ground, a young White Woman burnt in her bed, the Gentleman, his wife and three children very providentially getting out at a window, with nothing on but their Shifts and Shirts on their backs, which was all they saved, not two minuits before the House fell in: and this was done by those Rogues because as a Justice of the Peace, upon complaint made to him, he had granted a warrant for apprehending some of them. They are not yet discovered. In consideration of this gentleman's misfortune, which he is not well able to bear, and as it rises from the discharge of his duty as Magistrate, I have been prevailed upon to intercede with your Lordships, that his case may be recommended to his Majesty, for his royal Bounty of two or three hundred Pounds towards lessening his loss, which was the more considerable by a very good collection of books.

This recital by Governor Gooch was doubtless based on information furnished by Thomas Lee himself, and appears more trustworthy than the account in the *Maryland Gazette*. Her Majesty, Queen Caroline, in consideration of his loss, gave him a sum of several hundred pounds from the Privy Purse, which helped him to complete Stratford. The site of the Mount Pleasant home has ever afterward been known as Burnt House Field. This property descended to George Lee, only son of Richard Lee of London, and there at a later date and on a different location he built the home which he called Mount Pleasant, the name by which the property has generally come to be known.⁷

It is a matter of regret that we do not know exactly when Stratford

was begun, for we should like to know how many years were consumed in its construction. More than one summer was required to burn the immense quantity of brick used in that great pile; more than one claybank was despoiled in their production. Oyster shells were gathered and burned into lime, clean sand was hauled from distant creek bottoms. The hewing and seasoning of the timber must have been a huge task, and this, as well as all the carpentry work, was performed by skilled artisans. Two hundred years later the interior woodwork was in practically perfect condition, and even the wrought iron railings on the outside steps were without a sign of corrosion. Thomas knew that his house must be surrounded by a self-sustaining plantation and that it must serve as a fortress, if necessary, against Indians and river pirates. We know that two years were required to build mansions far smaller, so we conclude that about five years were consumed in the construction of Stratford. We believe it was begun in 1725, and that the construction was well enough advanced to enable the family to move in sometime in the spring of 1729, after the burning of the Mount Pleasant home. Finishing touches were probably made during the following year. There Thomas and Hannah Lee brought up a family of sons who were to leave an indelible imprint on the history of this country.

3. PUBLIC SERVICE

Going back now to Thomas Lee's public life, we find that progress was being made. He had succeeded his father as Naval Officer for the Potomac and had served as Gentleman Justice of Westmoreland. Even so, there must have been a commotion in that community around 1720-22, when this novice in politics was "unduly elected" Burgess from that county over Daniel McCarty, who had represented Westmoreland in the Assembly for several years and was now Speaker of the House, as well as being Lee's brother-in-law. They seem to have been able to dispense with lawmaking for long periods in those days, for the next session of the Assembly did not meet until 1726, but at this session Thomas Lee was sitting as Burgess from Westmoreland. He held this office until he was promoted to the Council in 1732, in the vacancy left by "King" Carter's death, and on October 20, 1732, he, with his first cousin Francis Lightfoot, was sworn in at

Williamsburg. Records between 1737 and 1743 show that about one hundred sittings were held and that Thomas Lee was present at seventy-two of them.

In May, 1744, the Governor selected him, with William Beverley, to negotiate with the Iroquois Indians in regard to the settlement of the lands west of the Alleghenies. This resulted in the Treaty of Lancaster, by which the tremendous Ohio basin was opened up to English settlement. To further the colonization of the western lands the Ohio Company was organized in 1748, with Thomas Lee as president and his sons Philip Ludwell and Thomas Ludwell as members.

As the years passed and the older men withdrew, Thomas Lee rose in affairs of state until he became President of the Council, and on the recall of Governor Gooch in the fall of 1749, Acting Governor of the Colony, with the impressive title of Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia. He continued in this office until the time of his death a year later.

We learn from his will that he abhorred the pageantry of death, and desired a quiet funeral. He died on the 14th of November, 1750, and was buried in Burnt House Field beside his parents and his wife, who had preceded him by little more than a year, on January 25, 1749.

Burnt House Field lies about a mile and a half from the present turn off the main road into the Mount Pleasant estate. It adjoined the house which burned in 1729. Information as to who is buried here was derived for the most part from wills, and later investigation of the cemetery confirmed the statements in the wills and other records. That of Richard Lee II reads as follows: "I will that my body have Christian and decent burial in my garden by or near the body of my dear wife deceased." His wife, Laetitia Corbin, who died in 1706, may have been the first to be buried in this place, though it is possible that his brother, John, may have preceded her. Thomas left explicit directions for his own burial:

I desire that I may be buried between my Late Dearest Wife and my honoured Mother and that the Bricks on the side next my wife may be moved, and my Coffin Placed as near hers as is Possible, without moving it or disturbing the remains of my Mother.

He also specified that the "one acre where my Hon'd Father is Buryed is not to be disposed of upon any pretense whatsoever."

In the summer of 1920 a trip was made to the old graveyard, at that time a thicket in the middle of a cornfield (Plates XII, XIII). The lettering on the tombstone of Richard and Laetitia Lee^s was still clear and legible after more than two hundred years. A brick vault had been built over the casket of Mrs. Thomas Lee, a customary practice of that time in Virginia. Beside her grave was that of an infant, and the brickwork between her grave and Thomas Lee's had been removed in accordance with the meticulous provisions of his will. Here was irrefutable proof that he had actually been buried here, although his tombstone was at Stratford. Our theory is that this slab was never on the grave at Mount Pleasant. Evidence of this was furnished by the stone and grave itself; there was no trace of a foundation for the slab on the grave, nor any trace of mortar or other binding material on the slab. The tombstone was probably ordered from England at the same time as the memorial stone to Thomas Lee on the wall of Pope's Creek Church. Both would have been landed at Stratford; the memorial was placed in the church, but the tombstone somehow never got to its destination. In the restoration of the Mount Pleasant cemetery begun soon after this visit and completed in 1933, the slab was brought from Stratford, where it had long reposed in a thicket near the burial vault built in a later day by Light Horse Harry Lee, and placed on Thomas' grave. The inscription which appears below was taken from a photograph of the stone itself.

Here lies Buried
The Hon^{ble} Col. THO^s LEE
Who dyed Nov. 14th 1750
Aged 60 Years.
And his beloved Wife
Mr^s HANNAH LEE
She departed this Life
January 25th 1749/50.
Their Monument is Erected
In the lower Church of
WASHINGTON Parish
In this County 5 Miles above
Their Country seat
STRATFORD HALL.

Chapter II

THE SIX SONS OF STRATFORD

I. THE HOME

LET us now consider the job done by Thomas and Hannah Lee in their task of bringing up a large family two centuries ago. They lost three children and reared eight—six sons and two daughters. Thomas Lee's family crest was a squirrel, and his own life one of tireless energy. He possessed a strong, inquiring mind and a powerful will. He had an abundance of vision, initiative, imagination, courage, and health—an inheritance from men who had matched their wits not only with nature but with savages and rascals. He was able to pass on a fair amount of these qualities, all save health, to most of his children; Arthur Lee alone inherited a rugged body. Neither Thomas nor Hannah lived to see even one of their twenty-five grandchildren, nor were their own children brought up with the assistance of grandparents, for at the time of their marriage Thomas' mother and father had long reposed in the Mount Pleasant graveyard and the Ludwells were soon to rest at Jamestown. The Stratford children learned their catechism from a young Scottish clergyman rather than from doting grandparents. And while there was something of an Old Testament religious atmosphere about Thomas Lee's home, we are reasonably sure that he was not the vestryman who reported the local parson to the grand jury because of his failure to preach on two successive Sundays, nor the person responsible for fining one member of the Lee family for not going to church! We can believe that his religion took a less immoderate form. Like all great landowners he employed tutors for his children, who prepared the boys to go "home" to England to finish their education. At eleven or twelve they were

shipped off to a ruthless English grammar school, where the survivors became real men. As for the girls, the merest rudiments of penmanship and grammar were deemed sufficient, although training in manners, music, dancing, and the management of the household was always a large part of their education. Thomas' daughters, Alice and Hannah, fared considerably better than most of their contemporaries, for they went to school with their brothers. In the next generation there were only girls at Stratford and lessons were given by a governess, a dancing instructor, and a music master.

Hannah Lee bore eleven children in seventeen years, which must be regarded as a feat of some magnitude, and she certainly must have been kept well occupied. Yet those children received unusual social advantages. Living at Stratford was an education in itself; many public figures were visitors there, and talk of politics and government a daily affair. Entertaining and visiting are of benefit to children in many ways, and they showed the results later on in Philadelphia and New York, London and Paris. They knew everyone of importance in Virginia, including the royal governors.

Thomas Lee had a fine library where his children learned to read good books. The boys studied the principles of free government and the ideals of political morality. History taught them not only the love of liberty but the legal safeguards necessary for protection against anarchy. All this helped prepare them to serve their country with idealism and courage and to put these principles to practical application.

To his oldest son, Thomas left an estate yielding a princely income. He was unusually generous to his second and third sons, while according to the custom of the times the younger ones got what was left, along with a secure social position and a good name.

With this foundation these sons set out in life and worked hard, winter and summer, six days a week, and most of them were destined to know the specter of poverty in wartime.

Thomas Lee lived in the Golden Age of Virginia when the British flag floated over a vast colonial empire. He was the third generation of Lees, in a direct line, to sit in the Council; his son, Philip Ludwell, was to make the fourth. That such an ancestral background should produce a statesman or an orator is not surprising. That it should have produced a democrat is extraordinary. But the fact that five out of Thomas Lee's six sons belonged to the popular party can be con-

sidered nothing less than remarkable. Thomas was the last of the Lees to put his trust in princes. He never lived to see what a fine crop of young rebels he had produced.

2. THE "BAND OF BROTHERS"

Thomas Lee's two daughters, as would be expected, married advantageously, Hannah to her cousin Gawin Corbin of Peckatone, and Alice to Dr. William Shippen of Philadelphia, who became Surgeon-General of the Revolutionary Army and later one of the founders of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. The five older sons carried on the family tradition of making suitable matrimonial alliances, while Arthur, the youngest, remained a bachelor. The three oldest did not have far to go for their wives. They all came from the same part of Tidewater Virginia, in fact they all came from the same household. Few localities in Virginia afforded a pleasanter social life in the closing decades of the colonial era than that section of Westmoreland bordering on the Potomac between Machodoc and Yeocomico creeks. Along this stretch of shoreline were the homes of the Corbins of Peckatone, the Steptoes of Homony Hall, the Eskridges of Sandy Point, and other well-known families. Here the Rusts lived, and a short ride brought the Carters of Nomini Hall, the Turbervilles of Hickory Hill, and the Lees of Lee Hall and Mount Pleasant to one another's festive boards. Philip Fithian, the tutor of the Carter children at Nomini Hall, kept a diary, and this journal contains some delightful recollections of Sunday dinners following Parson Smith's sermons in Yeocomico Church. About the year 1745, Colonel James Steptoe married Elizabeth Eskridge, the widow of Colonel William Aylett of Nomini Plantation, up the road from the future Chantilly. Elizabeth was the mother of two daughters, Mary and Anne Aylett. In due season she produced several Steptoe children, and out of all this grew a remarkable state of affairs. Down the road from Stratford came three of the sons of Thomas Lee, to claim their brides at Homony Hall. Richard Henry was the first to win approval, Thomas Ludwell was a close second, and Philip Ludwell was third. They married, respectively, Anne and Mary Aylett and Elizabeth Steptoe.

When Philip Ludwell Lee was twenty-three he inherited the bulk of his father's estate and was master of Stratford for the next

twenty-five years. He was born February 4, 1726/7, and while we do not know a great deal about the extent of his education we do know that he studied law at the Inner Temple in London and that he seemed to be something of a scholar. He went to the Assembly as Burgess from Westmoreland in 1756 and the next year was elevated to the Council. At the time of his death on February 21, 1775, he was acting as County Lieutenant, in command of the militia. From his marriage, about 1761-62, there were two daughters, Flora and Matilda, and a son, Philip, who was born three days after his father's death and who died in infancy.

Between Philip and his brothers there was not that close bond of sympathy which the others at all times showed for one another. As the oldest son and heir he was possessed of great wealth and power, and as administrator of his father's estate was also responsible for the payment of certain legacies left by Thomas Lee to his younger children. These legacies were never paid in full, which only naturally caused bitterness and hard feeling.⁹ His attitude was in marked contrast to the generous action of his grandfather, Richard Lee II, who, upon finding a flaw in his father's will, confirmed the titles of the younger children in order to insure their inheritance. But we find no such solicitude on the part of Philip Ludwell Lee.

Nor did he put his name to the Westmoreland Resolves, those daring pre-Revolutionary resolutions of the Northern Neck patriots, drawn up by Richard Henry Lee and signed by three of his brothers and many of his close relatives. Had Philip signed them it would, of course, have meant his expulsion from the Council, but such caution was certainly not in keeping with the spirit manifested by the rest of his family. The truth is that Philip Ludwell Lee was first and last a Royalist, and unsympathetic with popular causes. He was in a sense a link with an earlier age, for he was much nearer to his colonial ancestors in his loyalties and allegiances than to his democratic and revolutionary younger brothers, and because of this, in history he is set apart from them.

Stratford may have been the birthplace of Thomas Ludwell Lee, the second son, for he was born on December 13, 1730, not quite a year after the burning of Mount Pleasant. He too was educated abroad and on his return took his place in Virginia politics, entering the House of Burgesses from Stafford County, where he lived at his home, Bellview.¹⁰ He was averse to public life but was an ardent

supporter of the colonies, and played his own role as a patriot. He signed the Westmoreland Resolutions, acted as a delegate to the Virginia Conventions of 1775 and 1776, served on the Committee of Safety, and after the organization of the new government under the state constitution, as one of the five judges of the General Court of Virginia. He left a large family of sons and daughters on his death in 1778; like his older brother he died before the conclusion of the war.

Richard Henry Lee is the first of the children of Thomas and Hannah definitely known to be born at Stratford. The time was 1732, and the best years of Thomas Lee's life were ahead of him, years in which he was to fill the highest offices in the colonial government. As he gazed on the features of this child he could not know that one day the son would surpass the father.

Richard Henry Lee has been called the Cicero of the American Revolution. He entered the House of Burgesses at an early age, and ten years before the Declaration of Independence (of which he was a signer) he had authored the Westmoreland Resolves. He was a delegate to the Virginia Conventions and the Continental Congresses. Foe of slavery, friend of woman suffrage, and forefather of the League of Nations; author of the immortal Resolution for Independence and of the Tenth Amendment, designed to preserve that independence; President of the Continental Congress and United States Senator from Virginia—there was a man! He was progressive and broad-minded, he was earnest and honest and sincere. Part III deals with his life and times.

Francis Lightfoot, the next brother, was particularly a Stratford product, for he was born there on October 14, 1734, and educated at home by a private tutor. This son, who was called Frank, then settled on the Loudoun lands left him by his father and began the life of a country squire. Like his brother, Thomas Ludwell, he had no taste for public life, but he likewise, when the time came, assumed his own responsible part. He had represented Loudoun in the House of Burgesses in 1765, and the following year he signed the Westmoreland Resolutions. His wife was Rebecca Tayloe, whom he married in April, 1769; shortly afterward they moved to the home in Richmond County to which they gave the Indian name "Menokin."

On Richard Bland's resignation, Francis Lightfoot Lee succeeded him as delegate to the Continental Congress of 1775-1779, and was the second member of his immediate family to sign the Declaration

of Independence. He sat on the committee which drafted the Articles of Confederation, and performed valuable service in the debates on the Newfoundland fisheries and the free navigation of the Mississippi, advocating no peace treaty with Great Britain which did not give the United States the right to both.

Before allowing himself to forsake public affairs for good, he served a brief term in the Virginia Senate (1780-82); when it was over he retired to his beloved Menokin, where he and his wife lived out their quiet and peaceful lives. Thomas Lee Shippen on a visit there in 1790 wrote that "I find my Uncle and Aunt Frank as happily situated as is possible in this world, except for their want of society, which they have in themselves only." They had no children, and died in January, 1797, within a few days of each other, from the effects of exposure to the severe weather.

William and Arthur, the two youngest sons, left Virginia in 1768 to seek their fortunes abroad. They settled in London, where William married his cousin Hannah Philippa Ludwell; her fortune helped establish him in the mercantile business, the rudiments of which he had learned in Virginia. Arthur, already educated as a physician, soon turned to law. Without pull, but endowed with brains, courage, and unlimited self-confidence, these men went into London politics with some amazing results.

William, too, had signed the Westmoreland Resolutions before leaving Virginia. In 1773, only five years after he had taken up residence in England, he was elected Sheriff of London, a high post in those days, and he later served as Alderman of that city, the only American ever to be so honored. But he was bound by all the ties of kinship and patriotism to the Colonies, and when the choice came he did not hesitate. His espousal of the American cause involved the sacrifice of a large personal fortune and the loss of a prosperous business. He acted as Commercial Agent for the Continental Congress at Nantes, in France, and as Plenipotentiary to the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and The Hague. He proved himself an honest and devoted public servant, but both he and Arthur Lee became involved in disputes and misunderstandings with their colleagues which greatly hindered their patriotic efforts. As a result their real services have been obscured, and their proper places in history for the most part have never been accorded them, although subsequent disclosures have proved the truth of their contentions. William Lee returned to Vir-

ginia in 1783 and died twelve years later at Greenspring, which he had inherited from the Ludwells. Part IV is devoted to his life and letters.

Arthur Lee, Doctor of Medicine, Attorney at Law, naturalist, diplomat, and man of letters, was born on December 20, 1740, at Stratford and educated at Eton and Edinburgh, distinguishing himself in general scholarship and graduating in medicine, which he practiced for a short time in Williamsburg prior to going abroad to live. Once settled in England, he forsook this profession for the law, which he studied at Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple, and on being admitted to the British Bar started out on his career as a London barrister. These years were probably the happiest of his life. He was a man of wide acquaintance, a friend of Boswell and Johnson and other literary lights, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a brilliant writer and able lawyer, who devoted his best years and all he possessed to the service of his country. His prestige and political sagacity were important factors in his brother William's rapid rise in London politics.

As London agent for Massachusetts and Virginia, Arthur Lee carried on the cause of the Colonists by means of a vast correspondence and a series of polemic writings, the most important of which were the *Monitor's Letters* addressed to Congress, and a succession of political essays under the name of "Junius Americanus."¹¹ The Committee of Secret Correspondence in Congress appointed him their secret agent in Europe in 1775; following this he was sent to Paris in 1776 on the commission with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane to negotiate a treaty of alliance with France, and the next year to Madrid, Berlin, and other continental cities to seek supplies and loans and to make friends for the Colonies. Though he received no official recognition at either Berlin or Madrid he secured the promise of a large loan from Spain, though only a small part of it was ever actually paid. After the surrender at Saratoga he was a signer, with Franklin and Deane, of the treaty with France.

While it is true that Arthur Lee was possessed of "the capricious temper of an ardent patriot," it is also true that he was completely honest and loyal and sincerely devoted to his country. The spying and corruption that went on in the American diplomatic headquarters he could not countenance, but his exposure of these things had violent repercussions and he was made the target of all manner of malicious

insinuations and false charges as a result. His letters to Congress regarding his suspicions of Deane's integrity led to the latter's recall for investigation. Other letters impaired the confidence of Congress in Franklin. In 1779 Arthur Lee was recalled and John Adams put in his place. In September, 1780, he returned to America.

Despite the slander directed against him he continued to hold the esteem of the ablest men of the period, and in answer to his personally written defense of his actions Congress went on record with these words:

Resolved, That Mr. Lee be further informed, in answer to his letter, that there is no particular charge against him before Congress, properly supported; and that he be assured his recall was not intended to affix any kind of censure on his character, or on his conduct abroad.¹²

But the damage to his reputation and to his career was done, although time has proved that he was unquestionably right in his contentions and accusations.

After his return to America he was elected to the Virginia Assembly, and later, by the Assembly, to the general Congress (1782-85). Congress appointed him in 1784 on the commission to the Indians on the Northwest Frontier, and when Virginia ceded the Northwest Territory to the government he was one of the signers. He worked on the revision of the Virginia laws in 1786 and served on the state Board of Treasury for a five-year period ending in 1789. This brought his public life to a close, and he spent the next three years in retirement at Lansdowne, his home in Middlesex County, where he died on December 12, 1792, aged fifty-three.

These public honors attest to his country's continued confidence and faith in him despite the dissensions which had hounded his diplomatic career. Massachusetts and Virginia granted him large tracts of land in appreciation of his services as their foreign agent; Harvard conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D., and he was made a member of the Academy of American Arts and Sciences and the American Philosophical Society. This constituted a measure of recognition in his lifetime by his contemporaries, which he has not generally received at the hands of the historians who came after him.

We have an expression of his own feelings and convictions in a letter written to Thomas Lee Shippen while the latter was a student

abroad. He gives his young nephew some advice on his legal career, just beginning, and ends the letter with these reflections on his own life: ¹³

I mark out to you the path I intended to pursue, in which six years patient perseverance had advanced me hopefully, when my zeal for liberty & my country made me sacrifice all my prospects to embrace their then perilous and doubtful cause. In return I am now cast off with as much disgrace as they can fix upon me, & must spend the remainder of my life in circumstances hardly above indigence. An endeavor to shield my Country from the depredations of Franklin, Deane & Beaumarchais dismissed me before from public employment—the same attempt repeated against Morris & his adherents is now the cause of my dismissal. Yet upon revising the sacrifice I made, & the endeavors that have only ruined myself without benefiting the Public, I cannot think I have done more than my duty, or if I were again placed in the path of brilliant prospects, which I quitted—that I could hesitate to make the same sacrifice!

Vincit amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.

Adieu,

A. Lee

These were the sons of Thomas Lee, who in their bitter opposition to slavery long before the dawn of the Revolution, in their hatred for corruption in public office, and in their many progressive and liberal ideas were years ahead of their time. John Adams, who called the five Revolutionary patriots “that band of brothers, intrepid and unchangeable,” left these words in tribute to them:

Thomas [Ludwell] Lee, on whose praises Chancellor Wythe delighted to dwell, who often said to me that Thomas Lee was the most popular man in Virginia . . . but . . . would not engage in public life; Richard Henry Lee, whose merits are better known and acknowledged, and need no illustrations from me; Francis Lightfoot Lee, a man of great reading well understood, of sound judgement, and inflexible in the cause of his country; William Lee, who abandoned an advantageous establishment in England from attachment to his country, and was able and faithful in her service; Arthur Lee, a man of whom I cannot think without emotion; a man too early in the service of his country to avoid making a multiplicity of enemies; too honest, upright, faithful and intrepid to be popular; too often obliged by his principles and feelings to oppose Machiavellian in-

trigues to avoid the destiny he suffered. This man has never had the justice done him by his country in his lifetime, and I fear he never will by posterity.

3. THE TOMBS

It is an odd fact that not one of the children of Thomas Lee is buried at Stratford. Francis Lightfoot's tomb is in the Tayloe cemetery at Mount Airy, and records show that William is buried in Jamestown churchyard, and Richard Henry at Burnt House Field; Philip Ludwell is believed to lie beside his parents in an unmarked grave and Arthur in the garden of his home in Middlesex, though there is no proof of either. Of the last resting place of Thomas Ludwell Lee we know nothing at all.

While William Lee assigned no specific spot for his interment, merely directing that his body "be committed to the earth wherever I may chance to die, without pomp or parade, or any unnecessary expense whatever," the will of his son, William Ludwell Lee, was more explicit. It stated that he wished to be buried "near the grave of my dear respected father in the churchyard at James Town. The spot . . . is designated by two pegs of Sycamore on the south side of the grave of my late father." William's daughters, Cornelia and Portia, confirmed their father's interment at Jamestown and gave the location of his grave in relation to those of his grandparents, Philip Ludwell II and Hannah Harrison, whose tombs were plainly marked.¹⁴ Cornelia's record reads:

Greenspring, Virginia, Saturday 27 June, 1795, at 20 minutes after six in the afternoon, my dearest Father was taken from this turbulent and mortal state, after a lingering Illness of ten months, aet. 55 years 9 months and 27 days. On the 28th of June at 6 o'clock the precious remains were interred in James Town Church Yard at the south end of the graves of my Great Grandfather and Grandmother Ludwell.

The Ludwell Bible passed down to descendants of Portia Lee, and it seems probable that she made this entry:

The 27th of June 1795 at 7 o'clock in the afternoon, departed this world at Greenspring—my dearly beloved Father, William Lee, his illness was long & severe, supported with resignation inspired by the hope of a happy eternity. The dear remains of the best of parents was interred in James Town church yard the 28th of June at six o'clock in

the eve at the south end of the graves of my great grand Father & grand mother Ludwell.¹⁵

Other records show that a tombstone once lay on the grave of William Lee, but disappeared about the time of the Civil War,¹⁶ and his son's grave was likewise unmarked. In October of 1936 the Lee Society placed on the site the memorial stone inscribed as follows (Plate XIV):

In memory of
HON^{'ble} WILLIAM LEE
son of Col. Thomas Lee and Hannah
Ludwell, his wife.
He was born at Stratford Hall,
Westmoreland County, Virginia,
August 31st. 1739 and died at
Greenspring, James City County, Virginia,
June 27th. 1795.
He was the only American ever elected
an Alderman of London
where he also served as Sheriff.
He sacrificed these honors and a large
mercantile business to follow the
fortunes of his native country in the
struggle for independence.

ALSO
WILLIAM LUDWELL LEE
son of
William Lee and Hannah Philippa Ludwell,
his wife.
He was born at London, January 23rd. 1775.
and died at Greenspring, January 24th. 1803.
A. D. 1936.

Richard Henry Lee's will also contained definite instructions as to where he wished to be buried:

I desire to be decently, privately, and frugally buried in the family burying ground at the Burnt House as it is called, and as near to my late ever dear wife as tis possible to place mine without disturbing her remains, and upon her left, so that my present dear Mrs. Lee may be laid, when she dies, on my right; and so that my body may be laid between those of my dear wives.

His granddaughter, Mrs. Charles Calvert Stuart, left testimony that these directions had been carried out. In a letter to Cassius F. Lee of Alexandria she wrote:

Our grandfather, R[ichard] H[enry] Lee, was buried near the old burying ground at Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland County. I visited the spot many years ago; the gentleman who went with me pointed out the spot, just outside of the brick wall, and under a cluster of splendid trees; they told me the graveyard was full, and consequently this was considered the best place . . . I looked over the tombstones. They were those of the first Lees who came to this country, the Richards, etc.

Mrs. Stuart was married in 1814 at the age of seventeen and was busily engaged with nine infants until the last of them arrived in 1838, so her visit must have taken place sometime between this last date and the Civil War. She states that a brick wall was standing at the time and that Richard Henry's grave was *outside* this wall. She also speaks of "the first Lees who came to this country, the Richards, etc." While the tomb of the second Richard is here, everything points to the fact that Colonel Richard Lee I was buried in the garden of his Dividing Creek home, so this statement is obviously an error. She also claimed that the space inside the enclosure was full, which necessitated Richard Henry Lee's being buried outside the wall. Richard II and Thomas and their wives we know to be here, and Philip Ludwell, as the oldest son, may have demanded a place for himself and his wife, though as she remarried after his death she is very likely buried elsewhere. Even with these and several other possibilities,¹⁷ there would still have been room inside for a number of additional graves. Richard Henry's object in placing his first wife outside the wall in 1768 must have been a desire for his own private lot, and his logical mind would have utilized one of the existing walls as part of his enclosure.

At the time of our first visit in 1920 the wall had disappeared, though its foundations could easily be traced, and many bricks were scattered about. We started excavating, and at the northeast corner, four feet beneath the surface, we found that the west wall had been extended northward and a space for three graves formed by a wall running east and west. Figure 9 shows the location of the graves of Richard Henry and his wives in relation to the other tombs. The photographs show the progressive stages of the restoration carried

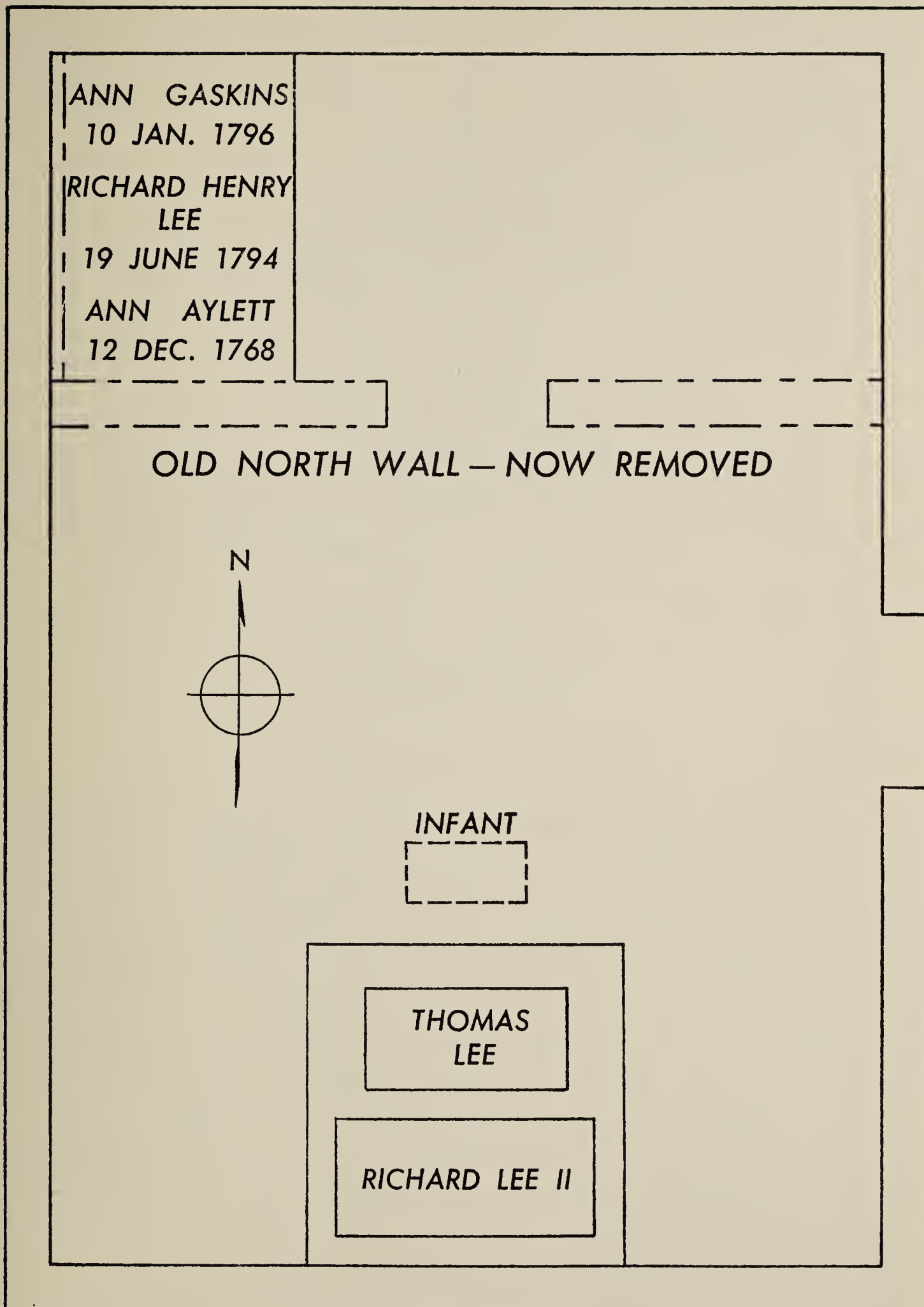


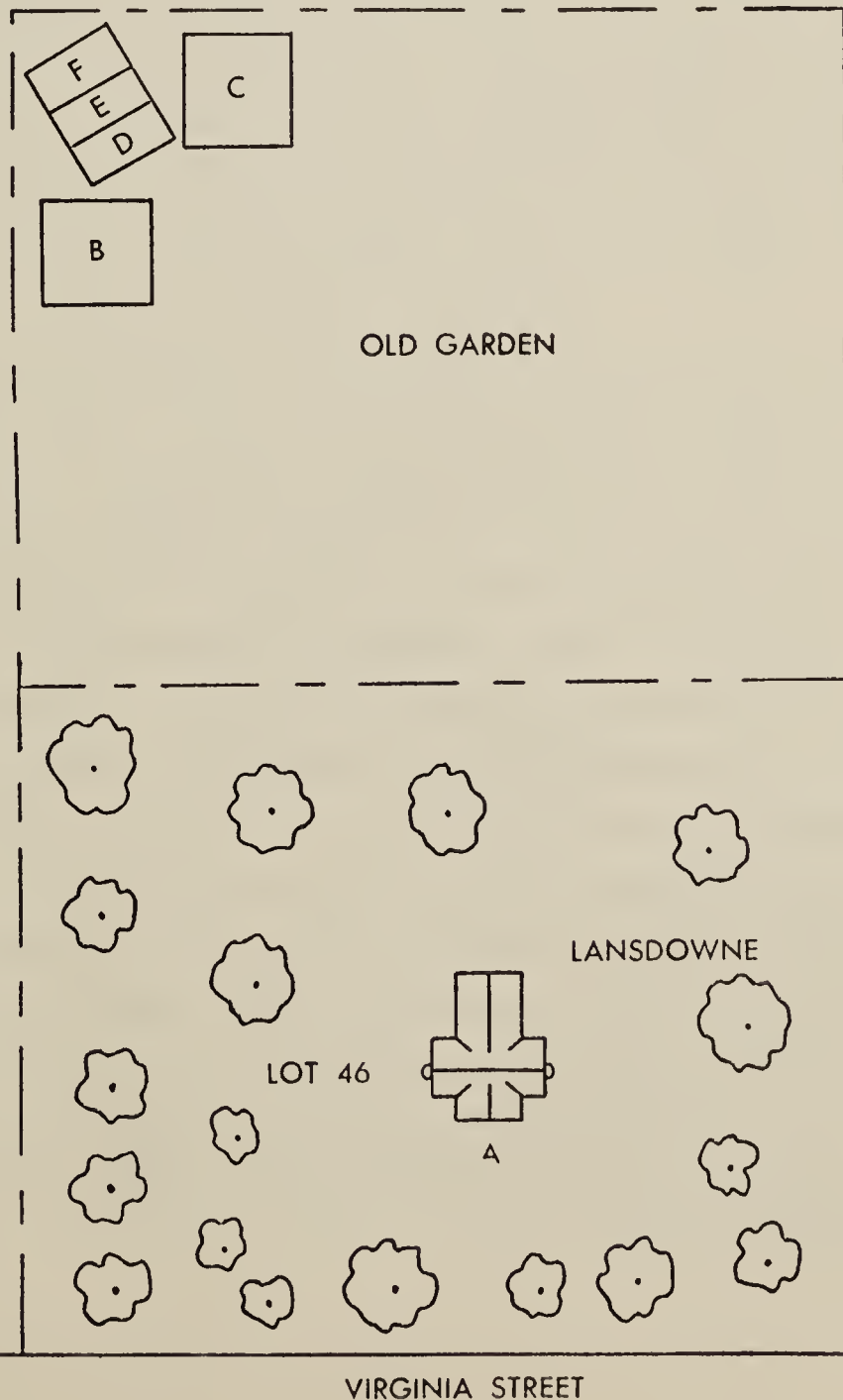
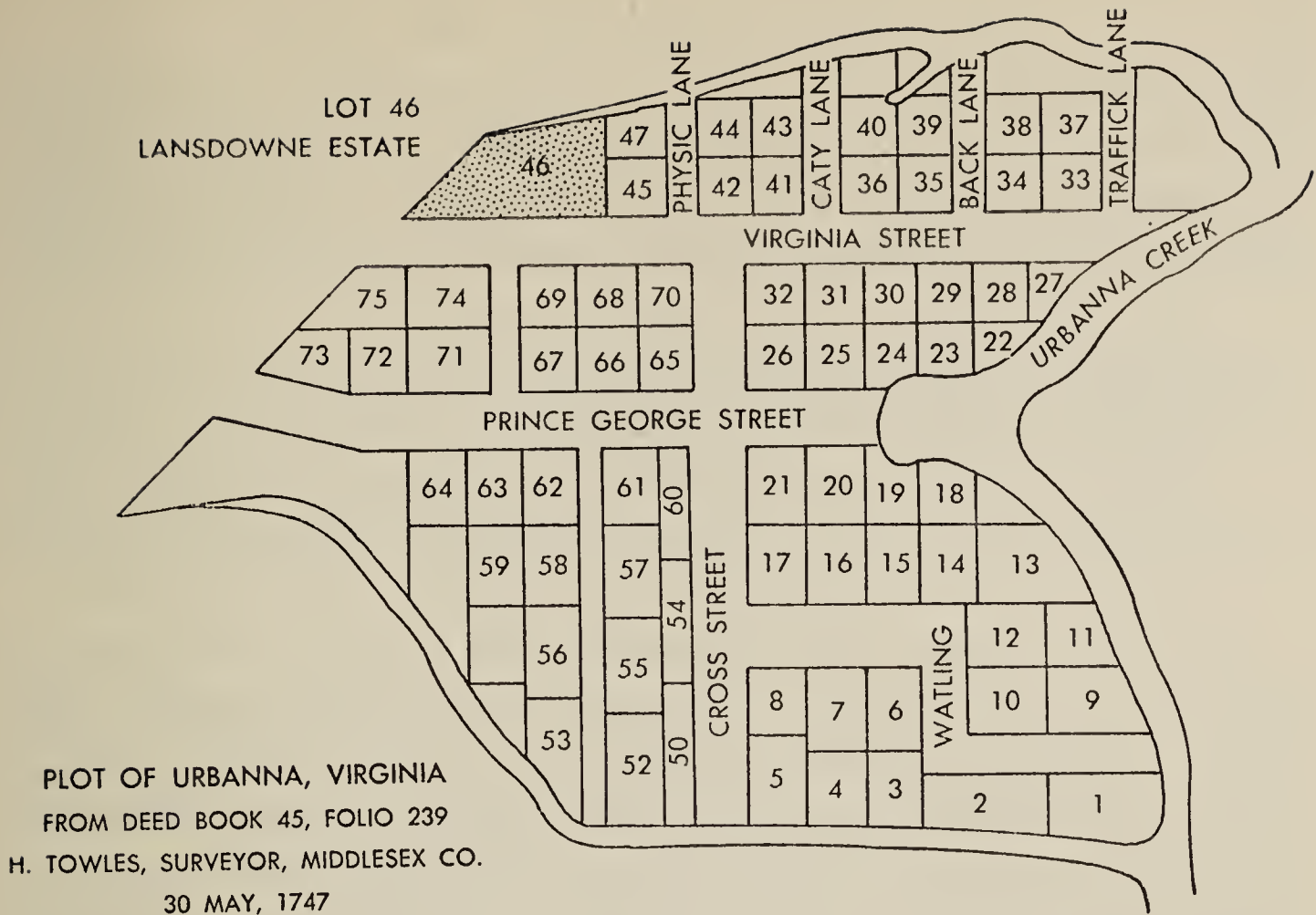
Figure 9. Burnt House Field Graveyard, 1933.

out by the Lee Society between 1923 and 1933, and the restored cemetery with the enclosing wall and gate as it appears today (Plates XII, XIII, XV). A memorial stone was placed on Richard Henry Lee's unmarked grave. It is of white marble, as is Thomas Lee's, and the lettering is similar. The epitaph reads:

Here was buried
 RICHARD HENRY LEE
 of Virginia
 1732-1794
 Author of the
 Westmoreland Resolutions
 of 1766,
 Mover of the Resolution
 for Independence,
 Signer of the
 Declaration of Independence,
 President of the
 Continental Congress,
 United States Senator
 from Virginia.

“We cannot do without you.”

As yet there is no monument to Arthur Lee. His will, which states, “I, Arthur Lee of Lansdown in the county of Middlesex,” gives the name of his home, in a large county and in what was until latter times an isolated community, and there seemed scant hope that the property would still be known by that name, for his residence there was for less than two years, too brief a period to impress a name very deeply. The next phrase, “My will is that my Remains be interred in the vault of my dear parents, unless I should die at an inconvenient distance,” still left us in doubt as to where to seek his grave, for Middlesex would certainly have been an inconvenient distance from Mount Pleasant in those days, and December an inclement season for journeys of such a character. But the fact that Richard Henry Lee, who was named sole executor of Arthur's will, offered it for probate but twelve days after the latter's death, led to the conclusion that he was summoned to Lansdowne by the news of his brother's death, arrived there after the burial at that place, and promptly offered the will to the county court. These were the con-



KEY:

- A. LANSDOWNNE ESTATE (LOT 46)
- B. UPTON LOT
- C. STREET LOT
- D. OVERTON COSBY
- E. PROBABLE GRAVE OF ARTHUR LEE
- F. DR. ROBERT SPRATT

Figure 10. The Lansdownne Estate of Arthur Lee.

jectures when on August 4, 1923, an article concerning the discovery of some very old graves in the business section of Urbanna, Middlesex County, appeared in a local publication known as the *South Side Sentinel*. The concluding paragraph contained some important news:

Dr. Arthur Lee, brother of Richard Henry Lee, the Cicero of the Revolution, resided in Urbanna, and was buried here. But there is nothing to show where he was buried nor is it known for certain in which of the old Colonial mansions still standing, he resided. Tradition says that he owned and occupied the fine and stately old brick mansion known as Lansdowne, now owned by Mrs. Ben Upton.

Here was evidence that Arthur Lee was buried in Urbanna and that the old house known as Lansdowne was still standing (Plate XVI). A visit to Urbanna disclosed the fact that about 1852 the county seat had been moved from there to Saluda. At this latter place we found an ancient plat of the town of Urbanna, made in 1747, a rough sketch of which is shown in Figure 10. We also located the deed to the Lansdowne estate, which was secured by Arthur Lee from Robert Beverley in 1791,¹⁸ and which shows that the "dwelling" stood on Lot 46, the site of the present Lansdowne. This furnished the proof that this was Arthur Lee's home of the same name.¹⁹

The house is a fine colonial brick mansion, with a large portico in front and the usual rear wing. It is situated well back from the street in a grove of large trees, and is still on the edge of the town. There was once an extensive garden in the rear, but this is now a dense thicket. At the northeast corner of the property are the old graves, most of them of the Upton family, the present owners. Their lot is enclosed by a neat iron fence and is shown in the sketch at B. The lot of the Street family, who owned Lansdowne prior to the Uptons, is shown at C; this lot is also enclosed. In the corner of the garden, at D and F, are two tombstones set at an angle in an endeavor to make the graves face the east. These are the oldest graves on the property that now have monuments. D is that of Overton Cosby, who died the year before. The space between these two graves, marked E on the map, is the only remaining space available for a grave. If it is a grave it must certainly be Arthur Lee's. It is our belief that he was buried in his garden at this spot in 1792, and that in 1805 and 1806 Dr. Spratt and Overton Cosby were interred on either side of him.

Chapter III

STRATFORD HALL

I. A NEW MASTER

WHEN Thomas Lee died in 1750 Stratford passed to Philip Ludwell Lee, the oldest son and heir; at his death twenty-five years later it became the property of his daughter, Matilda (Plate XVII). This daughter, renowned as "the Divine Matilda" because of her charm and beauty, was married in the spring of 1782 to her cousin Henry Lee, better known to history as "Light Horse Harry," a sobriquet he had acquired during the Revolutionary War. For some time after this event Matilda's mother and her second husband, Philip Fendall,²⁰ continued to live on at Stratford; how Harry Lee managed to eliminate them from the scene we do not know, but before long he was firmly ensconced there as master of the household.

Harry Lee was a scion of the Leesylvania line, and the third of four successive Henry Lees. The founder of this branch of the family was Henry Lee of Essex,²¹ sixth son of Richard Lee II and younger brother of Thomas Lee of Stratford. Early in the 1700's this first Henry had built Lee Hall on his portion of the Machodoc lands, and there he lived with his wife, Mary Bland. He and Thomas Lee had married in the same year, both to James River belles; Henry's wife was a daughter of Richard Bland of Jordans-on-the-James and a granddaughter of Theodoric Bland, Speaker of the House of Burgesses.

Their son, the second Henry (1727-1787), was married in 1753 to Lucy Grymes, "the Lowland Beauty," whose father was Colonel Charles Grymes of Morattico.²² They settled on the property they called "Leesylvania," situated on the Potomac a few miles below Mount Vernon, in Prince William County. Henry Lee represented his county in the House of Burgesses from about 1758 to the end of the colonial period, and along with his more brilliant Stratford

cousins served the cause of the Colonies against Great Britain. He took a prominent part in the Virginia Conventions, but it was probably as County Lieutenant that he rendered his greatest services to state and country. This title was given to the senior colonel of the county militia, and as commander of the military Henry Lee was an important personage. He had charge of the recruiting and equipping of the troops destined for Washington's army, and was also required to assume considerable responsibility and to act promptly in emergencies, which occurred with discouraging regularity, for the many broad rivers of Virginia afforded a constant inducement to the enemy to land and help himself to the stores of tobacco in the warehouses, to the communion plate in the churches, and to valuable house servants in the river plantations.

Like their counterparts, Thomas and Hannah Lee of Stratford, Henry and Lucy Lee produced some illustrious sons, who brought this branch of the family out of its comparative obscurity, although it was to reach its fullest flowering in the next generation in the person of Robert E. Lee. One son, Charles, held the post of Attorney-General of the United States under both Washington and Adams; another was Richard Bland Lee, the ardent Federalist and member of Congress; Henry, the eldest, was to attain everlasting fame as Light Horse Harry Lee.

Harry Lee was born at Leesylvania on January 29, 1756. Unlike his Stratford cousins he did not go abroad for his education, despite the efforts of his kinsman, William Lee, who felt strongly about the superiority of English schools. On October 30, 1770, William, by then living in London, directed this letter to Colonel Henry Lee:

In my opinion tis one of the Capital duties of a Parent to improve his Child in Wisdom; your son Harry is a boy of fine parts, and will possess a fine estate, independent of what you may please to give him. [William evidently believed that Squire Richard Lee of Lee Hall, unmarried at the time, would name his nephew Harry Lee as his heir.] Therefore it surely is incumbent on you to spare no pains or cost to give him a compleat education. This you know cannot be done in Virginia, therefore I wou'd advise his being sent over here immediately for that purpose, and if in so good a work I can be in the least instrumental, I beg you will freely command my services. In this I am the more anxious, as he may one day be the

principal representative in Westmoreland of a Family that has shone there for some years, with no small degree of Honor.²³

Twelve years later William's prophecy came true. But no credit could be given to an English schooling, for soon after the writing of this letter young Harry Lee entered Princeton, an institution his father considered eminently suitable. He began his studies there about the first of November, 1770, as a member of the sophomore class. He apparently had stopped off en route in Philadelphia, where Dr. Shippen had given him a letter to the president of the college, Dr. Witherspoon. In due season the latter reported his impressions of young Lee, and Dr. Shippen was able to pass them on to Virginia in a letter to his brother-in-law, Richard Henry Lee:

Your cousin Harry Lee is in college and will be one of the first fellows in this country. He is more than strict in his morality, has fine genius and is diligent.²⁴

Dr. Witherspoon was a good judge of boys; Harry Lee was graduated with honors in September, 1773. We catch a glimpse of him a few months later through the diary of Philip Fithian, fellow-student at Princeton and now tutor to the Carter children of Nomini Hall in Virginia. The occasion was the fabulous house party given by Squire Richard Lee at Lee Hall in January of 1774, which he attended in the company of his father.²⁵

The outbreak of war found him captain of a company of dragoons in the regiment of Colonel Theodoric Bland, with a commission signed by Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia. He soon established himself in the esteem of General Washington by a series of brilliant exploits in which he displayed talents of a high order, and proved himself an officer of unusual ability in an army which was by no means lacking in able leaders. He fought at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and was present in support of Wayne in the storming of Stony Point. His heroic resistance at Naaman's Mill and his defense of the outposts of Valley Forge should be held in lasting remembrance, but the climax came with his capture of the garrison of Paulus Hook, now Jersey City. This feat, accomplished under the guns of the British fleet, was a fair sample of the boldness and skill of his operations. For it he received the thanks of Congress and a gold medal, the only officer below the rank of general to be so honored. With his promotion to lieutenant-colonel in 1780 came his

transfer with his command to the army of General Nathanael Greene in the South, where he continued his exploits in a new theater and on a larger scale.

In 1781, worn out with the fatigue of six years of active service, he obtained a furlough and, happily, was present at the surrender of Cornwallis. He then paid a visit to the Northern Neck and a few months later we find him married to the heiress of Stratford. Harry Lee was at this time but twenty-six years old; a classical scholar and gifted orator, a veteran of the Revolution, an officer of renown, and now master of one of the largest estates in Virginia. He had been a fiery and impetuous soldier; he was soon to become a hot and eager partisan in politics, and to make warm friends and bitter enemies. The people of Westmoreland hastened to honor him, and he embarked on a political career as spectacular as his life as a soldier had been.

He was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1786, and two years later to the Virginia Constitutional Convention where he brought all his eloquence to bear in urging the ratification of the Constitution. Beveridge has drawn a colorful picture of him as he appeared at this period of his life:

A young man, thirty-two years of age rose, and standing within a few feet of the chair, was recognized. Six feet tall, beautiful of face, with the resounding and fearless voice of a warrior, Henry Lee looked the part which reputation had assigned him. Descended from one of the oldest and most honourable families in the colony, a graduate of Princeton College, one of the most daring, picturesque, and attractive officers of the Revolution, in which by sheer gallantry and military genius he had become commander of a famous cavalry command, the gallant Lee was a perfect contrast to the venerable Pendleton.

From 1789 to 1791 he sat in the Virginia Legislature. At this time, when he was nearing the high tide of his career, he suffered great loss, for in 1790 his young wife died at the untimely age of twenty-six.²⁶ In the effort to assuage his grief he plunged deeper into politics and the following year was elected Governor of Virginia, at a time when that office was second only to that of President of the United States.

Two years later he sought further consolation in a second marriage, to Anne Hill Carter of Shirley-on-the-James. Though to all appearances it was a most propitious match, the greater part of Anne

Lee's married life was to be filled with misfortune. From this union were born five children, and the youngest of these was Robert Edward Lee.

During Governor Harry Lee's administration, which was to continue until 1794, the issue of States' Rights first began to manifest itself, and the Constitution met its initial test, for the insurrection in western Pennsylvania popularly known as the Whiskey Rebellion was nothing less than an attempt to defy it. Harry Lee was given a major general's rank and sent by Washington to quell the rebellion, in command, as Hendrick says, of a force of fifteen thousand men drawn from the militia of several states. The fact that surrender was effected without a shot being fired should not diminish the importance of this operation, for had this revolt against Federal authority not been put down by force of arms it would eventually have reached destructive proportions.

In 1799 Lee was elected to Congress from Virginia. It was during this session, which met in Philadelphia, that he delivered the funeral eulogy of Washington containing the well-known lines, "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." Those two winters in the capital were to be his last appearance as a public figure, for although he still showed occasional sparks of genius his career was drawing to a close. He had gone over to the Federalists, and the decline of that party carried him into political oblivion. With no other profession save soldiering, and no taste or talent for farming, there was little he could turn to; his assets from his father and his two wives were long since gone, and his land speculations failed dismally. This irresponsibility in financial matters had early been recognized by his first wife, who had sought to protect her children's inheritance by compelling him to sign a document whereby Stratford would be held in trust for her sons and go to them at her death; otherwise, under Virginia law a wife's property became her husband's and could be disposed of by him alone. Ironically, it was ultimately lost through the same profligate habits that Henry Lee, Jr., the son to whom it passed, had inherited from his father.

Harry Lee's financial derelictions and his increasing indebtedness finally culminated in his incarceration for two years in debtor's prison, in the same little courthouse and jail in Westmoreland where, in a happier day, he had presided as Justice of the Peace. Yet even in this humiliation he did not lose heart, but employed the time in the writing

of his memoirs of the Revolution, hoping to be able to make a new start from their publication and sale. The work, entitled *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, is a remarkably readable book and was later widely used as a textbook, but little or nothing was realized on it at the time, when money was so sorely needed.

In 1810 Major-General Lee, to give him his full title, moved his family into Alexandria, and Stratford, grown shabbier and more uninhabitable with each succeeding year, stood empty. Adversity continued to dog his footsteps. Only a year after his release from prison he was inadvertently involved in an unfortunate experience while a guest at the Baltimore home of A. C. Hanson, editor of the *Federal Republican*, on the night when Mr. Hanson and some of his friends were the victims of an attack by a political mob. Lee was badly disfigured in the fracas, and suffered other serious injuries from which he never fully recovered.

At this low ebb in his fortunes he received one consolation in the form of a permanent major-general's commission in the United States Army, on the outbreak of the new war with England in 1812. But the state of his health prohibited his taking any part in the war, and the next year, weary of failures and disappointments, and in the forlorn hope of regaining his health in a warmer climate, he set out for the West Indies. Though he did not know it, he had left Virginia forever. His last years were spent in the islands, filled with loneliness, nostalgia for past glories, and many sad and bitter reflections; a letter to his son, Carter, admonished him to avoid debt at all costs—"the sink of mental power and the subversion of independence."²⁷ He died March 25, 1818, on Cumberland Island off the coast of Georgia on his way home at last after five years of exile. Fifty years later General Robert E. Lee visited his grave there, and one hundred years after he had left Virginia the remains of the old warrior were brought back to his native soil and placed beside his famous son in the chapel at Lexington, where they rest today.

After General Henry Lee moved his family to Alexandria in 1810 Stratford was unoccupied until Henry Lee, Jr., returned and took up residence in the home he had inherited from his mother. This only surviving son of Light Horse Harry's first marriage was born

in 1787, was graduated from William and Mary College in 1809, and served as a major in the War of 1812. He represented Westmoreland County in the Virginia House of Delegates, and was later United States Consul in Algiers. About March 30, 1817, he married Anne McCarty, daughter of Daniel McCarty IV of Pope's Creek, the neighboring plantation. The fourth Henry in a direct line, he is usually referred to as Major Henry Lee; he was also known as "Black Horse Harry" Lee, for reasons that were all too obvious, for though he possessed many of the brilliant mental qualities of his father he likewise inherited his unfortunate habit of running into debt, and this weakness, plus his complete inability to manage his own affairs, ultimately resulted in the loss of his property and his financial ruin.

Westmoreland records show that on June 27, 1822, he conveyed by deed to William C. Somerville, subject to mortgage, the Stratford plantation of three thousand acres for the sum of \$25,000.²⁸ This was followed on August 26th of the same year by a conveyance of the household effects (the family portraits excepted) to the same party for \$1,500. By 1825 Major Lee was so involved in debt that the court was compelled to take complete charge of his affairs. He lost not only his own magnificent inheritance but his wife's as well²⁹ and, ruined financially, he left Virginia, never to return. A millionaire had become a pauper. He died in Paris, far from home and kindred, in 1837.

After William Somerville's death in 1825, the Stratford estate was in litigation and was finally ordered sold in 1828 to satisfy a mortgage held by Henry D. Storke, whose wife, Elizabeth McCarty, was Major Lee's sister-in-law and former ward. Storke died in 1844 and his wife in 1879, after which the property passed to her two nephews, Charles and Richard Stuart.³⁰ It remained in the possession of the Stuart family for the next fifty years.

2. A GROUP OF PORTRAITS

Stratford Hall was probably at the height of its splendor during the first years of the tenure of Light Horse Harry Lee, before adversity changed his fortunes. The house was by that time over fifty years old, and had mellowed with the years. The grounds, laid out by Thomas Lee, would by then have had something of their present appearance, and the trees and shrubs, lovingly planted by Thomas

and his successor, Philip Ludwell Lee, their full growth and flowering. Furniture, bric-a-brac, and *objets d'art* brought from many a trip to Europe beautified the interior of the mansion. We know that Light Horse Harry himself made some changes and added a number of the more delicate and elegant features. Walls were painted, some of them handsomely ornamented with paneling and dadoes; the Corinthian pilasters in the Great Hall were unique in the colonies.

It was during these early and prosperous years of Light Horse Harry's ownership that young Thomas Lee Shippen of Philadelphia, Thomas Lee's grandson and namesake, made a pilgrimage to his ancestral home. It was a mid-September morning in the year 1790 when the chariot from Chantilly drew up at the door of Stratford and the party of gentlemen alighted. The coach then rumbled around to the barn amid a cloud of dust and the barking of dogs, while Richard Henry Lee, United States Senator from Virginia and Westmoreland's foremost citizen, led the way up the wide stairs followed by Dr. Arthur Lee, LL.D. and F.R.S. Tom Shippen, with eyes and mouth wide open, was not far behind. Senator Lee, acting as guide in the absence of Light Horse Harry, revealed his wealth of family lore to this nephew, who afterwards turned to his portfolio and penned one of his delightful letters. These letters describing his visits to the great houses of Virginia are a treasure house of information. This particular account, told with his usual color, is dated September 20, 1790, and was written to his father from Menokin, which he visited, along with Chantilly, after leaving Stratford.

Stratford, the seat of my forefathers, is a place of which too much cannot be said; whether you consider the venerable magnificence of its buildings, the happy disposition of its grounds, or the extent and variety of its prospects. Stratford, whose delightful shades formed the comfort and retirement of my wise and philosophical grandfather, with what mixture of awe and pious gratitude did I explore and admire your beauties!

They then entered the Great Hall and seated themselves on one of the sofas.

What a delightful occupation did it afford me to trace the family resemblance in the portraits of all my dear mother's forefathers, her father and mother, her grandfather and grandmother, and so on upwards for four generations. There is something truly noble in my

grandfather's picture. He is dressed in a large wig, flowing over his shoulder (probably his official wig as President of the Council), and in a loose gown of crimson satin, richly ornamented. I mention the dress, as it may serve to convey to you some idea of the style of the picture. But it is his physiognomy that strikes you with emotion. A blend of goodness and greatness; a sweet yet penetrating eye, a finely marked set of features, and a heavenly countenance. Such I have almost never seen. Do not think me extravagant; my feelings were certainly so when I dwelt with rapture on the portraits of Stratford, and felt so strong an inclination to kneel to that of my grandfather. It was with difficulty that my uncles, who accompanied me, could persuade me to leave the hall to look at the gardens, vineyards, and lawns which surrounded the house.³¹

This letter tells us that seven portraits, comprising four generations of Lees, could then be seen on the walls of Stratford; they were Richards I and II and their wives, Thomas and Hannah Lee, and Thomas and Hannah's son, Philip Ludwell Lee (Plates XVIII, XX, XXI). Sometime during the regime of the latter (1750-75) the magnificent three-quarter-length paintings of Sir William and Lady Berkeley (Plate XIX) arrived from Greenspring, along with one of Colonel Charles Grymes of Morattico, whose daughter Frances had married the third Philip Ludwell.³² About 1800 Arthur Lee's likeness by Charles Willson Peale, which was probably brought from Chantilly when that home was broken up, and one of Light Horse Harry painted by Gilbert Stuart about the same time, were added to these (Plate XXII); they completed the group of twelve that came to be known as the Stratford portraits. Since the paneling in the Great Hall was not designed for portraits of such size, the Berkeleys were hung in the parlor, where as late as 1919 the two large spikes from which they were suspended could still be seen.

Richard Lee I and Governor Berkeley were approximately the same age, had come to Virginia about the same time, and were friends. The painting of the latter is that of a man past fifty. In those days Virginia gentlemen and their ladies had their portraits painted while on visits home to England. We know that Sir William was there for about a year and a half between 1660 and 1662, when he would have been fifty-four; there are also records to show that Colonel Richard Lee was living in England between 1661 and 1664. He and Sir William probably sat for their portraits during this period. Both

paintings, as well as the one of Mrs. Richard Lee, are attributed to Sir Peter Lely.³³ There are striking similarities in the portraits of the two men. Both are wearing large gray wigs extending down the back to the shoulder blades. The cut of the collars is the same and the cravats are identical; they are passed twice around the throat and tied once, with long ends nearly to the waist. Colonel Lee's portrait probably hung first at Stratford Langton and crossed the ocean with other household effects when that home was broken up after his death. It was inherited by his oldest son John, and in 1670 passed to John's brother, Richard Lee II, along with the one of Colonel Lee's wife, Anne.

The second Richard added the portraits of himself and his wife, Laetitia, to the first two. On the back of his canvas this legend appears: "Aetatis Suae 61. Ao 1707-8." The painting is a striking one and depicts him in the long black wig of the period. As Laetitia was dead before 1707, her portrait, in which she looked to be a woman of about thirty, was obviously made at some earlier date. It bears a remarkable resemblance to the likeness of her father, Henry Corbin, which hangs at Mount Airy.

Since these four portraits of the first two generations were in the possession of Thomas Lee while he was living at Mount Pleasant, the question arises as to how they survived the fire of 1729, for there was certainly no time to think of family affairs on that awful night. We can only surmise that they had already been moved to Stratford. Thomas must have made frequent trips to observe the building of his new home, twenty miles away by road. Since it was much nearer by water and the journey far easier, we imagine that most of the visits were by the river route, and that he doubtless used these opportunities to convey such household effects, from time to time, as could be spared. The house by then would have been nearing completion, and the portraits would logically be among the first things to be put in their new places. These are only guesses, but at any rate the pictures survived, and one way or another were taken to Stratford. A few years later the paintings of Thomas and Hannah³⁴ were added to the collection; as in the case of Richard II and Laetitia, the artist is unknown. Sometime after Philip Ludwell Lee inherited Stratford his likeness joined those of his forebears on the walls of his home, together with the paintings of the Berkeleys and Colonel Grymes.

Four of the Stratford portraits (the Berkeleys and Colonel Richard Lee and wife) are reproduced, along with those of twenty-four other Virginians, in a volume entitled *Portraits of the Founders*,³⁵ by Charles K. Bolton, onetime secretary of the Boston Athenaeum. This book contains likenesses of those men and women who came to America prior to 1701 and left extant portraits; it also furnishes biographical outlines of the subjects, and comments on the paintings themselves.

Mr. Bolton questions the authenticity of a number of the Virginia portraits, including these four from Stratford, though he does so without once having seen the originals.³⁶ He says that at the time Governor Berkeley's was supposedly painted he would expect to see Sir William's own hair instead of a wig. Now the wearing of wigs became general after the restoration of Charles II in 1660, and it would be natural for a man of means and position, hastening home to kiss the hand of his sovereign, to appear at court in the latest style. Neither he nor Richard Lee would be likely to select a costume savoring of the Roundhead. In addition Mr. Bolton claims that the long plain cravat, passed twice around the throat and knotted the second time, does not appear much earlier than 1695 or 1700. Yet a portrait of Admiral Jeremy Smith shows a similar neckpiece as early as 1666, and it must have been a general style, for a gruff old seadog was not apt to show off the latest fashion in neckwear. Mr. Bolton would also like to convince us that the painting of Colonel Richard is in reality his grandson Richard III, the London merchant who died in 1718 at the age of forty. But he fails to explain why, if this is so, it did not remain in the hands of descendants of this third Richard, along with other portraits of that branch of the family.³⁷ Furthermore, he is of the opinion that the Berkeley portrait could really be Philip Ludwell II, although it certainly resembles none of the Ludwells, nor is the second Philip known to have visited England after 1713, when he would even then have been only forty-one—far too young to have been the subject of the Berkeley portrait.

The authenticity of the painting of the first Richard Lee is established by the testimony of Thomas Lee Shippen, based on information given him by none other than Richard Henry Lee, who could speak with authority. He had been born at Stratford and could possibly remember a time when there were but four portraits, before those of Thomas and Hannah and Philip Ludwell Lee were added.

He had had ample time to learn all that his father knew, for he had reached eighteen before Thomas Lee died. So when he told his nephew in 1790 that there were four generations of Lees on the walls at Stratford it is impossible to believe that he could have been mistaken. Tom Shippen's letter mentions his mother's "parents and grandparents," who, of course, were Thomas and Hannah and Richard II and Laetitia; the fourth generation was represented by his mother's brother, Philip Ludwell Lee, whose likeness would have been the last one added. Since the authenticity of these five has never been questioned, the other two would have to be Richard I and Anne.

There is also the later testimony of Charles Carter Lee, son of Light Horse Harry and Anne Carter Lee. He too was born at Stratford, his father had often visited there long before he became master of the estate, and his mother came there as a bride in 1793, when Richard Henry Lee was still living. Carter Lee was twenty when his father died and thirty at his mother's death, so he must have absorbed a considerable amount of family information from them. The portraits ultimately came into his possession, and all told, he lived with and looked at them for forty years. In 1866 he vouched for the entire collection when he allowed them to be photographed for E. C. Mead's history of the Lee family.

When Major Lee sold the household effects of Stratford to W. C. Somerville in 1822 the family portraits were not included in the sale. By 1825 the place was in the hands of a commissioner appointed by the Circuit Court of Westmoreland, and on June 25th of that year Major Lee received a letter from the caretaker which began:

I received yours of last male. You wish me to send your family picturs. I want to do so with pleasure but you no that I have no rite to remove anything out of the house without Col. Somerville's orders.³⁸

This proves that the portraits were still at Stratford in 1825 and that Major Lee was trying to get them out of the house. By 1829 he had succeeded in doing this, when he either gave or loaned them to a "favorite Cousin," Mrs. Mary Turberville Taliaferro of Peckatone, a descendant of Thomas Lee's daughter, Hannah Corbin. There is in existence an old document, a "Description of old Family Portraits presented to Mrs. Mary Tur. Taliaferro by Major Henry Lee in the year 1829."³⁹ Despite a number of errors, the paper is verification that

the entire group of Stratford portraits was removed to Peckatone, save for the one of Light Horse Harry Lee, who probably took his with him when he moved to Alexandria in 1810.

Sometime between 1840 and 1847 Charles Carter Lee became the owner of the remaining eleven, said to have been given him by George Frederick Brown, Mrs. Taliaferro's son-in-law.⁴⁰ They were evidently taken to Mr. Lee's home in Richmond, where in 1856 he presented the one of Arthur Lee to the state of Virginia. He later removed the others to his home in Powhatan County, where they survived the Civil War and remained for many years. Although the one of Arthur Lee had been given away there were still eleven in number, for the painting of Light Horse Harry had rejoined the collection. In 1871 Mr. Lee's widow wrote a letter to Cassius F. Lee of Alexandria, describing the group of portraits.⁴¹ While it contains errors, the subjects are correctly identified on information undoubtedly furnished by her late husband. Today the portrait of Light Horse Harry is at Stratford, the Peale painting of Arthur Lee adorns the wall of the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, the portraits of Richards I and II and their wives and of Thomas and Hannah Lee are in the possession of Mrs. Cazenove Lee of Washington, D. C., and Maurice du Pont Lee of Wilmington, Delaware, owns the Berkeleys.

While we can account for the portraits, the whereabouts of the other Stratford effects—the furnishings, books, pictures, china, and silver collected by the masters of Stratford for three generations, are for the most part unknown. When Light Horse Harry moved to Alexandria he may have taken along some of the furnishings which he had added during his tenure there. A number of authorities claim that the exodus from Stratford was made in a carriage, hardly calculated to carry many heirlooms when loaded with one reasonably portly major general, his wife and four children. On the other hand, the trip may have been made by water, in which case he could have taken more of his possessions with him. Even if the family did go by carriage, he possibly shipped some things to Alexandria by the river route. Others may have been sold to pay debts, and still others were probably left behind at Stratford, to become the property of Major Henry Lee. When the latter was forced to sell the estate in 1822, W. C. Somerville became the owner of everything left in the house

at that time, except the portraits. When these went to Peckatone a number of letters, written to Major Lee in 1825, found their way to the same place. Other household effects may also have been taken there; the question is, Where are they now?

It seems fairly certain that William C. Somerville lived at Stratford for a while. He left Virginia in 1825, when he was appointed Minister to Sweden, and died in France in December of that year, leaving his entire estate, save for one bequest, to his brother, Henry V. Somerville. Whether, by 1828 when the Storkes succeeded to ownership of Stratford, there were any of the original furnishings left, we do not know. Some things may have been passed on to the heirs of Henry V. Somerville. We do know that Charles B. Tiernan, his nephew by marriage, owned Major Lee's commission, and he may have owned other items. Papers, silver, pictures, and furniture may even have found their way back to the Lee family through the friendship between the Lees and the Somervilles.⁴²

Henry Somerville willed everything to his wife, Rebecca Tiernan of "Bloomsbury," near Catonsville, Maryland, who outlived all her ten children and died intestate in 1863. Two of these children, William and Agnes, are of interest to us. William Tiernan Somerville (1816-1857), the oldest son, left a very considerable estate to some of his brothers and to this sister, Agnes, who married Wilmer Shields of the United States Navy and died in 1861 at Laurel Hill, her husband's home near Natchez, Mississippi. More of the Shields family later.

In addition to these two children Mrs. Somerville had two nephews who figure in this problem. One of them was Luke Tiernan Brien, Colonel of Cavalry, C.S.A., who served on the staff of General J. E. B. Stuart and was Chief-of-Staff to General W. H. F. Lee in 1864. The other was the Charles B. Tiernan already mentioned, author of *The Tiernan and Other Families* (1901). On page 161 of this book he reproduces a letter from Colonel Brien which tells us what happened to at least some of the Stratford furnishings. As closely as we can approximate, the particular visit of Colonel Brien mentioned in the letter must have taken place about 1847.

My dear Charley:

Urbanna, Maryland, June 14, 1898.

. . . A great deal of my time, in my youth, when not at College, was spent at "Bloomsbury," the estate of my Uncle and guardian, Henry V. Somerville.

I always understood, that part of the extensive library of books, in their handsome bookcases; some of the oil portraits: and a certain quantity of the silverware in use, came to Uncle Somerville from his brother Wm. C. Somerville, of St. Mary's County, who received them from Light Horse Harry Lee, perhaps under a chattel mortgage or in a similar way.

Among the portraits and paintings that I recall, were one of Washington, by Gilbert Stuart; one of Peyton Randolph, President of the First Continental Congress, and one of Lafayette—these three I bought. The one of Washington, I sold for \$200.00 to John B. Morris Sr., more than forty years ago; Randolph's was lost in Philadelphia, and Lafayette's I gave to my namesake, Brien Berry, of San Francisco.

There were also portraits of Jane Shore, Nell Gwynn, and of a woman in a Nun's dress. William C. Somerville's portrait, taken in France in 1818, and his fine marble bust, made in Italy. Many other pictures and fine engravings, which I can now barely recall to memory.

With the seven boys and three girls of the family, I made the eleventh person, and some six or seven of us younger ones had our meals in a room different from that of the older members of the family.

At the family table, the Somerville silver was used. I forget the crest, but the motto was "Sola nobilitat virtus." "Virtue alone enobles."

At our table we used silver which was marked with a Squirrel and the Motto: "Non incautus futuri." "Not unmindful of the future." Of course I was very familiar with this silver, but like any boy, paid no special attention to it.

During 1864 and 1865 I was Chief of Staff of General William Henry Fitzhugh Lee, son of General R. E. Lee.

Miss Frances Fisher whose brother, Fred Fisher, was one of our escorts, sent me a very beautiful white silk pennant, and one evening in Camp, I suggested to my Chief that we ought to put some legend on that pennant. He replied: why not put my Crest and Motto on it—a Squirrel, and "Non incautus futuri."

Then there came back to me at once the memory of the knives, forks and spoons of my youth, and I told the grandson of Light Horse Harry then and there all about them and their history. . . .

Sincerely,

L. T. Brien.

According to this testimony, books, pictures, and silver from Stratford did come to the Somervilles from Light Horse Harry Lee, who probably sold them to pay some of his debts, and were still in possession of the Somervilles as late as 1847. Through an executor of Colonel Brien's estate we established the fact that he himself owned none of these things at the time of his death.

In a footnote to the letter, Mr. Tiernan states that at the time (1901), a number of the pictures mentioned in it were owned by Mrs. Julia B. Shields of Natchez. While these pictures may or may not have come from Stratford, it is worth noting that Agnes Somerville Shields did take some effects from Bloomsbury to Natchez at the time of her marriage in 1845. Her sister, who married Charles A. Waters and died without issue, may have done likewise. Another curious coincidence is that around 1920 an item appeared in the papers stating that the medal given by Congress to Light Horse Harry Lee had been found in Mississippi. Perhaps these clues may some day help to bring the missing articles to light.

3. A NEW ERA

These chapters have told the story of Stratford and of the men and women who, as actors in a drama which began two centuries ago, left their names forever associated with the old house which was their stage (Chart B). It is a story which contains both the high lights of good fortune and the somber shades of adversity. Since that long past day when Thomas Lee broke ground for his new home, much water has flowed past the Cliffs of Nomini. On the 20th of January, 1732, the voice of the first little child to be born beneath its rooftree was heard by his parents; seventy-five years later, on another January day, the last of the Lees to claim Stratford as his birthplace was brought into the world. In that period, between the birth dates of Richard Henry Lee and Robert E. Lee, the drama of Stratford was enacted. When in 1822 it passed out of the family and into oblivion, the drama was ended and the days of glory over. The place was uninhabited for long stretches; the Great Hall stood empty, and walls that had echoed to laughter and sparkling conversation and to brilliant political discourse gave back only silence. The Lees saw it no more, and to those of them who had known it once, it was only a dream in the happy past. We know that General Robert E. Lee held it in loving remem-

brance. Writing from Savannah in the fall of 1861 to a daughter who had recently visited the old place he had this to say:

I am much pleased at your description of Stratford and your visit. It is endeared to me by many recollections, and it has been always a great desire of my life to be able to purchase it. Now that we have no other home . . . the desire is stronger with me than ever.

And on a Christmas Day, far from his family, he unburdened his feelings to his wife. Speaking of the loss of Arlington, which must have been a severe blow to her, he wrote:

They cannot take away the remembrance of the spot and the memories of those that to us rendered it sacred. That will remain as long as life will last, and that we can preserve. In the absence of a home, I wish I could purchase Stratford. That is the only other place that I could go to, now accessible to us, that would inspire me with the feelings of pleasure and local love. You and the girls could remain there in quiet. . . . I wonder if it is for sale, and at how much.

Robert E. Lee was not to realize his desire to repossess the place he loved, but he was to play a part in its ultimate destiny. Nearly three quarters of a century later, the plan was inaugurated which was to reclaim Stratford and restore it to all its former grandeur. It was still in the possession of the Stuart family when in 1928 Mrs. Charles D. Lanier of Greenwich, Connecticut, conceived the idea of Stratford as a national shrine and memorial to General Lee, and under her guidance as president, the Greenwich chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy entered into negotiations with the owner to determine the terms of sale. The plans for the purchase and restoration were presented by Mrs. Lanier to the National Convention of the U.D.C. assembled at Houston, Texas, but no action could be taken by this body because of a regulation prohibiting the assumption of indebtedness in excess of \$10,000. Confronted with this impasse, Mrs. Lanier herself undertook the promotion of the project. In January, 1929, the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation, Inc., was organized, and its purpose set forth as follows:

To acquire the estate known as Stratford Hall, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, the birthplace and boyhood home of Robert E. Lee, and to restore, furnish, preserve, and maintain it as a national shrine in perpetual memory of Robert E. Lee; and under suitable regula-

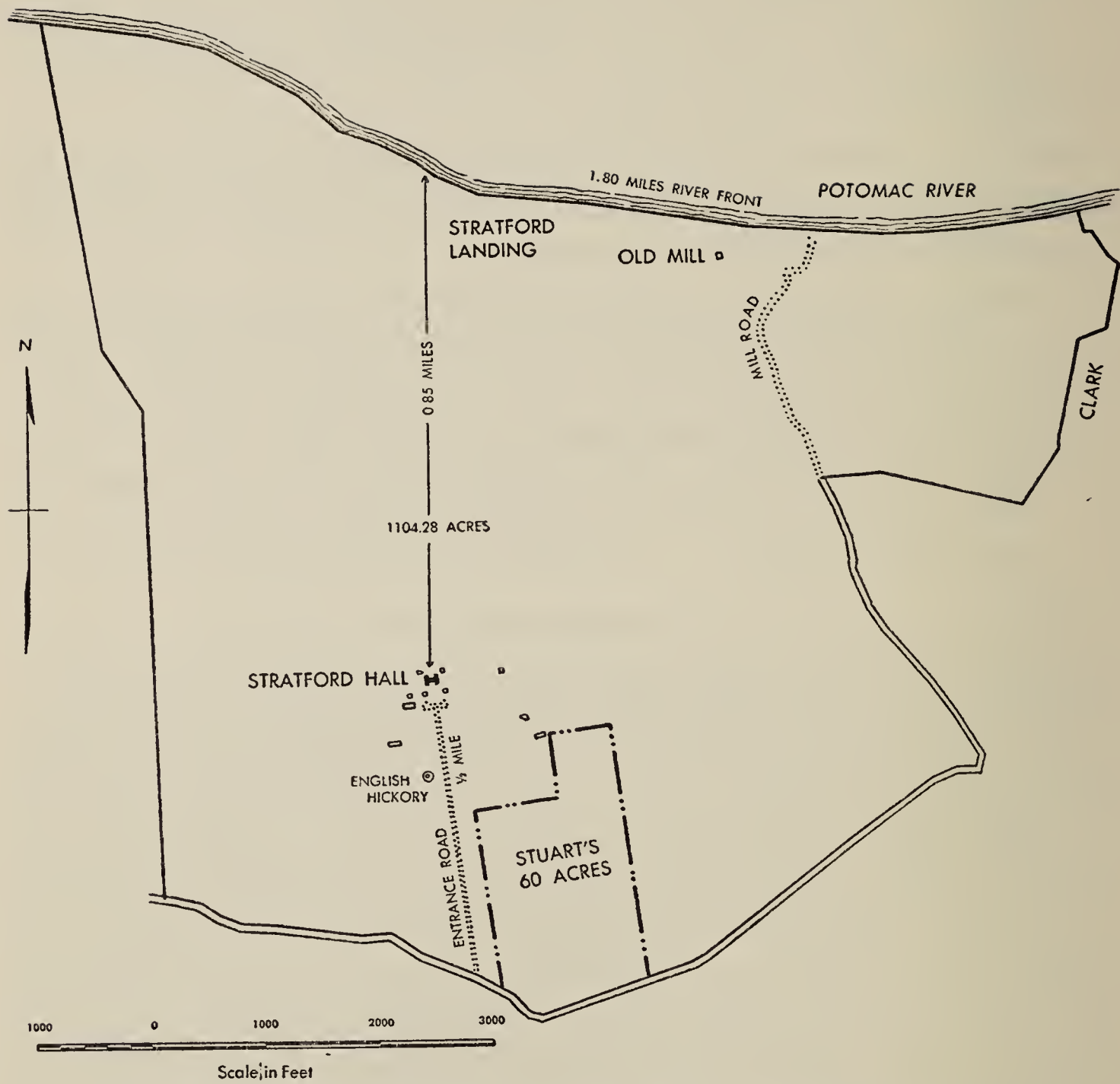


Figure 11. Plot of Stratford at the Time of the Sale in 1929.

tions to open said estate with its library, relics, buildings, gardens, and grounds to the inspection of visitors, and the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the public.

A plan was developed similar to the one in effect at Mount Vernon, and a contract drawn up for the purchase of the property. This was of pre-eminent interest to the Lee Society, which appointed a committee to study and report on the plans. The actual deed of conveyance was signed on July 21, 1929, and the title to Stratford Hall and eleven hundred acres bordering on the Potomac was handed over to the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation for the sum of \$240,000.⁴³ A little over a hundred years before, it had been sold for one tenth of that figure. With its purchase by the Foundation a new epoch in its long history was begun (Figure 11).

On July 2, 1932, the former owner locked the front door and left for the last time. The following day a spiritual renaissance began, when Major General B. F. Cheatham entered upon his duties as superintendent. In three months' time this former Quartermaster General of the Army wrought a most profound change in the appearance of things. Broken shutters were removed from the windows, chicken houses vanished from the front lawn, an iron fence disappeared, and vast growths of weeds and an unsightly cornfield were replaced by a verdant sward.

Today the restoration is very nearly complete, and the visitor sees the mansion, outbuildings, and grounds in all their original magnificence. Fortunately, the buildings had undergone few surface changes in the nineteenth century, so that it was not difficult to recapture the period of Stratford's great days. Even during those times alterations had been made from time to time to meet changing conditions. In the work of restoration it seemed wise to leave undisturbed the best features of later periods, already of substantial antiquity. The Great Hall has regained its elegance, and copies of the original portraits of Thomas and Hannah Lee, and of Richard Henry and Francis Lightfoot Lee, two Signers of the Declaration of Independence, hang upon its walls. The paintings of Light Horse Harry and Lafayette once more look down upon visitors to its spacious halls, and the front bedroom and adjoining nursery now appear as they did at the time of Robert E. Lee's birth. Light Horse Harry, who remodeled this part of the house, is himself memorialized by the restoration and furnishing

of the parlor by the Friends of Princeton, of which he was an alumnus. Old inventories gave detailed lists of the furnishings of the mansion, and thus provided a valuable guide to the restorer. Appropriate examples of old English craftsmanship, together with American pieces, represent the original Lee furniture. On display in one of the rooms are relics and mementos of the Lee family.

The brick dependencies have likewise been restored. In the stables, as of old, thoroughbred horses are quartered, and a group of slave quarters where the house servants once lived has been rebuilt on the old foundations. In the Master's Office, which Thomas Lee used for a law office, is a library of three thousand volumes, containing books of Lee family history, manuscripts, letters, documents, and rare books, some of which were on the shelves of Stratford two hundred years ago.

Old-fashioned perennials and many fragrant shrubs and flowers bloom in the formal eighteenth-century walled garden, whose grassed terraces and box borders, after the fashion of that time, are patterned in the design of the Lee coat-of-arms. The extensive grounds, with the springhouse, ha-ha wall, and summer house now appear as they did in the old days. The mill and millpond are functioning again, the burial vault at the end of the garden has been reconstructed, a new orchard planted, and the vista cut through from the house to the river, a mile distant. Here at the "warff," in colonial days, cargoes of old wine, rare books, rich brocades, and other treasures from abroad were received, and tobacco was shipped in return. Today the fields are under cultivation for crops of grass, grain, and tobacco, and as grazing land for purebred cattle, in the plan to re-establish Stratford as a self-sustaining plantation.

At the entrance to the grounds is the Gate House, a modern structure erected to honor the builder of Stratford. Harmonizing architecturally with the house and other buildings, it is a fitting introduction to the estate of a colonial gentleman.

So Stratford lives again, a memorial not only to Robert E. Lee, the last of its great sons, but to Thomas Lee, who created it, and to all the Lees who called it home.

NOTES

PART TWO

¹ Where Richard and Laetitia lived in the early part of their married life is not certain. The register of old Christ Church, Middlesex, records the baptism of a "John Lee, son of Maj. Richard Lee and Mad'm Lettice, his wife, on the 3rd day of Xber 1678." This evidently was a child who died in infancy. The registering of the baptism at this particular church is confusing, for if they were still living at Paradise they would have been in Petsworth Parish, with the church of that name within four miles, while Christ Church is certainly twelve miles away. If they had already moved to Westmoreland the child must have been born while the mother was on a visit to Buckingham House, the old Corbin mansion in Middlesex.

² The seven children were: John, who died young; Richard Lee of London; Philip Lee of Maryland; Francis Lee, who lived at Paradise; Thomas Lee of Stratford; Henry Lee of Lee Hall; and Anne Lee, who was married first to Col. William Fitzhugh and second to Capt. Daniel McCarty.

³ Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William* (Richmond: The Old Dominion Press, 1924), I, 146.

⁴ See Part V, Chapter I, "The Ludwells and Other Families."

⁵ This marriage bond was presented to the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation in 1951 by Mrs. William J. Boothe of Alexandria, and is now in the archives at Stratford.

⁶ *William and Mary Quarterly*, XII (1903), 192.

⁷ George Lee of Mount Pleasant held these offices: Churchwarden (1737), Justice (1737), Deputy Clerk (1740), Captain (1740), Clerk (1742), Burgess (1744-49), Major (1747), Colonel of Militia (1748).

⁸ See Part I, Chapter I for a transcription from this tombstone.

⁹ See Part IV, Chapter II for more about Philip Ludwell Lee's relations with his family.

¹⁰ The name appears also as Belleview and Bellevue. Thomas Ludwell Lee's will did not give its exact location nor extent, merely referring to "all my land in the county of Stafford." All the Stafford Record Books, which might have furnished more specific information, were carried away between 1861 and 1865. But since Stratford had been left to Philip Ludwell Lee, and 4,200 acres in Fauquier to Richard Henry Lee, the third son, it seems reasonable to suppose that the second son would have been given an equally fine estate.

A notation on page 48 of Fithian's diary (1767-74) describing a trip from

Georgetown to Westmoreland in 1773, helped approximate the location of Bellview. "Expence at Dumfries 4/5. Rode thence to Stafford Court House, 12 miles. Stopped at Col. Thomas Lee's only a few rods from Stafford Tavern." *Virginia Colonial Churches* (Richmond: The Southern Churchman, 1908), page 256, tells us that Stafford Courthouse was first situated at Marlboro Point (on the north side of Potomac Creek where it enters the Potomac), and that the present building, about seven miles west, was not erected until 1783. These references established the fact that Bellview was near the courthouse, which was at that time at Marlboro Point.

A patent was discovered in Richmond which had been issued to Thomas Ludwell Lee in 1767 for a 3-acre island in Potomac Creek, opposite the land of Peter Daniel on the north, and "bearing from Bellview North 19 east 198 poles." On a trip to Marlboro Point in 1923 the author was shown where the courthouse and tavern had stood. On a second trip by boat in 1929 the lands of Peter Daniel were identified. Then a Federal War Map of 1862 was found in the Library of Congress, on which Bellview appeared. In November, 1929, the spot was visited, on the south side of Potomac Creek, and pieces of china, glass, and brick were gathered in the vicinity where the house had stood. Berry Hill, another plantation belonging to Thomas Ludwell Lee, lay on the north side of the creek not far from the ruins of Potomac Creek Church.

¹¹ The *Monitor's Letters* consisted of seven essays, previously published in Virginia, and brought out in London in 1768. The writings signed "Junius Americanus," published in London in 1770, were in imitation of the British Junius, a political writer of the times, who used this pseudonym, and whose identity remained unknown. Arthur Lee's adoption of the signature implied that he considered himself the American counterpart of the real Junius.

¹² Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, p. 268.

¹³ *Shippen MSS.*, Library of Congress. This collection has been loaned by Dr. Lloyd P. Shippen of Washington, now deceased, who also presented to the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation a collection of books which had once belonged to the Lees. These books are now at Stratford.

¹⁴ Robert A. Lancaster, Jr., *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1915), p. 6. Photograph of the foundations of Jamestown Church, showing the Ludwell graves in the foreground. To obtain this print Mr. Lancaster climbed the old church tower, set his camera so that it faced the east, and photographed the ancient foundations of the several successive churches, then recently revealed by excavations. The old tombs appear in this picture exactly as the Society for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities found them, before restoration was attempted.

¹⁵ The discrepancy in the hour of their father's death, a detail in those days considered of great importance and always duly noted, should not lessen the value of these two records in regard to the location of William Lee's grave. The fact that he was composing letters but five days prior to his death indicates that his end may have been sudden, not permitting time for his daughters to get there, for it was seventy miles from Greenspring to Menokin where they were living with their uncle, Frank Lee. They probably received the information verbally and recorded it later, which would account for the difference in time. Their testimony that their father was buried at the "south end" of the graves of his grandparents was a rather clumsy statement, for it is a well-known fact that the axes of colonial churches and graveyards ran

east and west, and to this rule the Jamestown church was no exception. It would have been impossible to place a grave at the south *end* of two graves, though it could have been placed on the north or south *side* of a grave, or at the east or west *end* of two graves. The girls obviously meant that he was buried at the east end, i.e., the *foot*, of the Ludwell graves. This is the only spot adjacent to the Ludwells where he could have been interred, for they lay in a row of graves of great age, and there were already graves on either side of them and at their heads.

¹⁶ Lyon G. Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1900), p. 85. In a list of the tombstones in Jamestown Churchyard there is this entry: "Tombstone of Hon. William Lee (now missing) of 'Greenspring, who died June 27, 1795, aged fifty-eight Years.'" On page 93 of the second edition of this book (Richmond: The Hermitage Press, 1906) Dr. Tyler indicates that this information concerning William Lee was obtained from an article by Richard Randolph, published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, III (1837), 303. William's age is incorrectly given, but the information proves that his tombstone was in existence as late as 1837.

¹⁷ The others, who may or may not have been buried here, are:

- (a) *John Lee*, brother of Richard Lee II. He was living on the Machodoc property at the time of his death in 1673, but as he was serving as burgess from Westmoreland at the time, he may have died at Jamestown or at his brother's Paradise estate en route from Jamestown to Westmoreland, and been buried at either place.
- (b) *Captain Henry Creek*, Laetitia (Corbin) Lee's stepfather, who was living at her home at Mount Pleasant when he died, prior to September, 1684.
- (c) *Henry Lee of Lee Hall*, younger brother of Thomas Lee of Stratford. In his will (probated August 25, 1747) the decision as to his burial place was left to the discretion of his executors. In 1764 his widow left similar directions, indicating that it was impossible to bury her beside her husband.
- (d) *George Lee of Mount Pleasant*, son of Richard Lee of London. His will (1761) states: "I desire I may be buried decently but without any pompt, in my garden, as near to my wife as possible." This garden must have been beside the new Mount Pleasant house he had built to replace the one burned in 1729, so it seems unlikely that he was buried in the old graveyard. The wife referred to was his second, Anne Fairfax, who had died a few months before his will was drawn. We do not know where his first wife, Judith Wormeley, is buried.

¹⁸ Arthur Lee also acquired title to eight half-acre lots in the town, four of which (68, 69, 74, and 75, in Figure 10) were "on the south side of Virginia Street & to the westward of the Court House or Market Place." This was the courthouse in which Richard Henry Lee presented Arthur's will for probate in 1792; when the county seat was moved to Saluda the building was purchased by Captain Bailey of Rosegill and presented to the parish to be used as a church. It is the present Episcopal church, though the building was evidently not used by Episcopalians until some time after 1857, as it does not appear in Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, etc.*, published in that year.

¹⁹ Arthur Lee devised Lansdowne and other property in Middlesex, amounting to about 1,200 acres, to his brother, Richard Henry Lee, for life, it then

to go to the latter's son, Francis Lightfoot, namesake of his uncle, the Signer. He in turn sold it on Dec. 31, 1803, to Dr. Robert Beverley Spratt, who in 1806 willed it to his brother, George Daniel Spratt, then to his cousin, Robert Beverley Fife. Fife in 1817 conveyed the place to James Doswell et al., and Paul T. Doswell in 1829 deeded it to Thomas Street.

²⁰ Philip Richard Fendall was born in 1734, the son of the Hon. Benjamin Fendall and Elinor Lee, a daughter of Philip Lee of Maryland. His first wife was his cousin, Lettice, the daughter of Squire Richard Lee of Blenheim. After the death of his second wife, Elizabeth (Steptoe) Lee (widow of Philip Ludwell Lee), which occurred about 1789, probably in Alexandria, he married Light Horse Harry's sister, Mary. By this last marriage he had a son who bore his name and was a distinguished attorney in Washington.

²¹ Henry Lee first appears in the Westmoreland records in 1716, when he was a Justice. He served as Sheriff (1719), Captain (1724), Churchwarden (1731), Major and Sheriff (1733), Naval Officer (1735-1746), and Colonel of the Militia (1740).

²² The marriage was solemnized at Greenspring on December 1, 1753, by the Rev. William Preston of James City County. This statement and the notation that the ceremony took place at Greenspring appear in Light Horse Harry Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, ed. Gen. Robert E. Lee (3d ed.; New York: University Publishing Co., 1869). It was probably taken from a Bible record.

²³ William Lee's *Letter Books*, in the archives at Stratford.

²⁴ *Lee MSS.*, University of Virginia Library. Quoted in *Lee of Virginia*, p. 329.

²⁵ Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, Book One (1767-74), ed. John Rogers Williams (Princeton: 1900), p. 95.

²⁶ A letter from Richard Henry Lee to Charles Lee of Leesylvania written in 1790 makes this inquiry: "Where is your brother Harry and how is his Mrs. Lee . . . I want to write to him, but have understood that he was at some Springs in the Western Country." This letter, and subsequent information, lead us to believe that Matilda Lee probably died at White Sulphur Springs, sometime in 1790.

²⁷ Burton J. Hendrick, *The Lees of Virginia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1935), p. 395.

²⁸ *Westmoreland Deed Book*, 24, 346. Stratford Plantation is described at this time as being bounded on the north by the Potomac, on the west by the lands of the late Daniel McCarty, Lawrence Pope, and Richard Bane, and on the south by the lands of George Washington Parke Custis, and others.

²⁹ Two years later, while living in Fredericksburg, Major Lee conveyed in trust to Daniel Carmichael, on July 24, 1824, the stock and utensils (held jointly with his sister-in-law, Elizabeth McCarty) on the Pope's Creek farm adjoining Stratford. This was shortly followed by the sale of the crops, and finally, on June 19, 1829, he executed to Henry V. Somerville, brother of William, a deed of trust on his wife's share of the Pope's Creek estate, worth \$20,000.

³⁰ After the death of Mrs. Storke's father, Daniel McCarty, in 1801, her mother had married a Richard Stuart. These two great-nephews were the descendants of this second marriage.

³¹ *Shippen MSS.*, Library of Congress.

³² Several theories have been advanced as to why these three portraits were brought to Stratford. Some think Hannah Lee may have taken them there in 1730 when she was furnishing her new home. By then her father, Philip Ludwell II, was dead, both his daughters were married, his son, Philip III, only a child, and Greenspring probably uninhabited at the time. However, if they were brought to Stratford at this particular time the portrait of Colonel Grymes could not have accompanied them, for it was not until years later that it first appeared at Greenspring, prior to its later removal to Stratford. The more probable explanation is that the three portraits were removed to Stratford about 1760, when Philip Ludwell III and his daughters went to England to live and Greenspring was once again unoccupied for a time. This theory is supported by the fact that the inventory of the third Philip's estate, a remarkably complete and comprehensive document made after his death in 1767, mentions no family portraits at Greenspring at that date. There is yet another possibility. William Lee came into possession of Greenspring in 1769 on his marriage to Hannah Philippa Ludwell, and during the Revolution, while he was abroad, Richard Henry Lee managed his affairs in this country. We know that Greenspring had fallen into a state of dilapidation, and it is reasonable to suppose that with his usual foresight Richard Henry may have removed the portraits to Stratford for safekeeping.

³³ Lady Berkeley's portrait depicts a woman of about forty-five. It must have been done at some time after Sir William's death, even though it is obviously a companion piece to his portrait, with an identically carved frame, for there is no record of their ever visiting England together at any time during the seven years of their marriage (1670-77). She stayed behind at Greenspring when he returned to England for good in 1677, the same year in which he died, and so far as we can discover, her first trip abroad was in the fall of 1679, when she went to London to collect 300 pounds due Sir William for three months' salary at the time of his death. She must have sat for the portrait on this visit, or on one of her subsequent trips with Colonel Philip Ludwell I of Rich Neck, whom she married in the summer of 1680. See Part V, Chapter I, "The Ludwells and Greenspring."

³⁴ Besides this portrait of Hannah, there was an earlier one which hung at Greenspring (see Part V, Chapter I). Still another likeness of her later appeared at Chantilly, but it possesses little merit and was evidently a copy Richard Henry Lee had had made.

³⁵ Charles Knowles Bolton, *Portraits of the Founders* (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1919-26).

³⁶ The reproductions of the Berkeleys are fair, but the one of Anne Lee is extremely poor, and that of Colonel Richard even worse. They were taken from the illustrations in *Lee of Virginia*, which, in the case of Richard, was derived from an engraving used by E. C. Mead in his history of the Lee family published in 1868. Being an engraving it lacks the accuracy of a photograph. None of these illustrations conveys a true idea of the excellence of the originals.

³⁷ In speaking of this portrait Mr. Bolton concludes with this curious statement: "The portrait here given is from a reproduction, lent by Mrs. Robert S. Peabody [of Boston] of the painting owned by Mrs. Cassius Lee of Washington, District of Columbia." There never has been a Mrs. Cassius Lee who

resided in Washington, or who owned the portrait. Mrs. Peabody evidently got her print from a copy of *Lee of Virginia*.

³⁸ This letter is included in a bundle of old letters written to Major Lee in 1825, in the possession of Miss Lucy Brown Beale of Westmoreland.

³⁹ "*Description of Old Family Portraits presented to Mrs. Mary Tur. Taliaferro, by Major Henry Lee in the year 1829:*

"Two full length portraits (life size) of a gentleman and lady. The lady is most elegantly dressed in blue velvet, made low in front, flowing sleeves, displaying most exquisite hands and arms. The gentleman is in the court dress of the reign of Charles 2nd, of scarlet velvet, hair curled and powdered, as was the fashion during the reign of Charles 2nd. The aforesaid portraits were the Grand-father and Grand-mother of Mrs. Taliaferro.

"Three female portraits, life-size, but not full length, all three with the hair thrown back from the forehead and powdered. One dressed in crimson velvet with a scarf or drapery of blue. One in a dress of blue velvet with a drapery of crimson. The other lady is dressed in drab with crimson drapery. The most striking peculiarity about the last mentioned is the display of the bosom.

"Six male portraits, life-size, but not full length. One of Mr. Thomas Lee, President of the King's Council and Father of Richard Henry Lee and owner of Stratford; dressed in blue velvet, hair powdered, and complexion very pale. Glass on this portrait. The next portrait is of Mr. Arthur Lee, son of Thomas Lee, and minister to France; dress, claret colored velvet, hair powdered. The other four portraits differ from the seven mentioned above in complexion, being very dark, the one thought to be the Earl of Litchfield being almost black, with a bushy head of black curling hair, keen black eyes, and red thick lips; dress sombre. One of the others, to judge by his garb, was probably a Lord Bishop. The other two, as well as 'My Lord Bishop' have their hair dressed a la Charles 2nd, curled and powdered, and clothes in sombre colors. All the portraits are handsomely though plainly framed."

This account, thought to be in the handwriting of Mrs. Taliaferro's daughter, Martha Fenton Brown, was furnished by Miss Mary Lee Murphy of Westmoreland, the latter's granddaughter. There are obviously many inaccuracies contained in it. The first pair described are Lord and Lady Berkeley, who, of course, were *not* the grandparents of Mrs. Taliaferro. The "three female portraits" were Anne, Laetitia, and Hannah, wives respectively of Richard I, Richard II, and Thomas Lee. Of the "six male portraits" the first two, Thomas and Arthur Lee, are correctly identified. The dark portrait "thought to be the Earl of Litchfield" is obviously Richard II; the other three are Richard Lee I, Philip Ludwell Lee, and Colonel Charles Grymes.

⁴⁰ Cazenove G. Lee, Sr., purchased the portraits about 1895. In 1921 his widow made this statement to the author, Cazenove Lee, Jr.:

"A short time after your father purchased these portraits, or about 1895, I received a letter from a Mrs. Brown who was living at the Louise Home [in Washington], asking if she might come to see the portraits, and stating that she was the rightful owner of them. She was invited to call, and after looking at the pictures she said that Major Henry Lee, when he broke up Stratford, had given them to her mother, Mrs. Mary Turberville Taliaferro, who was a cousin of Major Lee. Mrs. Brown went on to say that she inherited them from her mother, Mrs. Taliaferro. Mrs. Brown said that Henry Lee had

given them to her mother because he did not like his step-brothers and sisters. Mrs. Brown then explained that once during a visit of Charles Carter Lee, her husband had said, 'Here, Carter, take these pictures; they ought to belong to you!' And Carter took them."

⁴¹ Letter of Mrs. Charles Carter Lee concerning the Stratford portraits:

"Windsor, August 1st, '71.

"My dear cousin:

"I am sorry illness in my family has prevented my writing to you before & regret still more that I shall be able to be of little service to you.

"I looked through my husband's papers yesterday & have found nothing that can be serviceable to you. I was not surprised at the result of my search, for Mr. Lee received several such letters as yours the last eighteen months of his life, & his reply was always the same, he had no information that had not already been published, to give.

"Mr. Lee's mother's bible is here. The date of her marriage only is given. It took place the eighteenth of June, Seventeen Ninety Three. Perhaps Mrs. Fitzhugh of Ravensworth can give the information you wish about her death. Mrs. Lee died at Ravensworth.

"There are eleven family portraits here:

A portrait of Genl. Henry Lee,
Sir William Berkeley & his wife Lady Frances,
Mr. Grimes, father of one of the Mrs. Lees of Stratford,
The first Mr. Lee who came to this country & his wife,
The son of the last named gentleman & his wife, Miss Corbin,
Mr. Thomas Lee & his wife, Miss Ludwell, &
Mr. Philip Lee, father I believe, of Genl. Lee's first wife,
I mean Genl. H. Lee.

"Mr. Lee had also a portrait of Dr. Arthur Lee, which he either gave or lent to the Historical Society of Va. My impression is it was only lent. Mr. Lee gave me these particulars & he obtained his information partly from Mr. Henry Lee & partly from Mrs. Richard Bland Lee, his uncle's wife, I think he told me. It is proper to state, however, that a rather different account is given by another member of the Lee family, of some of the portraits, Mrs. Brown writing me from her daughter, Mrs. Capt. John Murphy's house. I know nothing of them [these relatives] personally, but have heard of them through my sister-in-law Mrs. Smith Lee, & since, directly from them on the subject of the portraits.

"I have often heard Mr. Lee speak with affection of his cousins, the Lees of Alexandria. It has given me great pleasure to hear from one of its members.

"I remain, Yours, truly,

Lucy Lee.

"The portrait of Genl. Henry Lee is by Stewart."

This letter was furnished by Mrs. William J. Boothe of Alexandria. There are several errors. Colonel Grymes was not the father of "one of the Mrs. Lees of Stratford," but of Frances Grymes, wife of Philip Ludwell III of

Greenspring. Mrs. Lee states in the letter that the Hannah Ludwell who married Colonel Thomas Lee of Stratford was the daughter of Philip Ludwell I and Lady Berkeley, his second wife. This is also erroneous; there was no issue of this marriage, and the Hannah Ludwell of the portrait was the daughter of Philip Ludwell II and Hannah Harrison, and the granddaughter of Philip Ludwell I and his first wife, Lucy Higginson. The portrait of General Henry Lee (Light Horse Harry) was the Gilbert Stuart painting.

⁴² The wills of both Somervilles may be seen in the office of the Recorder of Wills at Baltimore. (W. B. 12, 270; 16, 345.) Carter Lee and Henry Somerville were close friends, and it is an odd coincidence that in 1847, the year of the latter's death, the original document of the Westmoreland Resolves turned up, said to have been found among the papers of Major Henry Lee, Jr. This document was given to the Virginia Historical Society in 1849 by the Hon. John Y. Mason, who had received it the year before from Dr. Samuel J. Carr. Carter Lee was present on the occasion of the presentation of it to the Society in 1849.

⁴³ *Appendix F*, "The Deed of Conveyance, or Title to Stratford." In 1954 the descendants of the Stuart family agreed to sell the 60 acres withheld at the time of the purchase of Stratford (see Plat of Stratford). This plot was bought in October, 1954, by Mr. Ernest Kanzler and presented to the Foundation as a memorial to his late wife, Josephine Kanzler, the Director for Michigan.

Part Three ❧ ❧ ❧

A SIGNER OF THE
DECLARATION

Part Three

A SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION

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RICHARD HENRY LEE

1732-1794

Member of the House of Burgesses
Author and Signer of the Westmoreland Resolves
County Lieutenant of Westmoreland
Member of the Virginia Conventions
Delegate to the Continental Congresses
Mover of the Resolution for Independence
Signer of the Declaration of Independence
Signer of the Treaty of Alliance with France
Member of the Virginia House of Delegates
President of the Continental Congress
Author of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution
United States Senator from Virginia

PROLOGUE

It is significant that the altitudes of the pedestals on which historians are wont to place such eminent men as John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee (Plate XXIII), and others, bear a direct proportion to the care with which these men prepared their own manuscripts for the use of future biographers, and the manner in which their heirs preserved these papers. What a difference it might have made if the Lee family had published without comment all the letters of Richard Henry, William, and Arthur Lee in its possession in 1825, and then awaited the verdict of time. Had this been done the position of the Lees could have been established on such a question as slavery, before it became a plaything for designing politicians and reformers. Their views on this issue should be well known, but unfortunately they are not. Richard Henry Lee's first motion in the House of Burgesses, in 1759, was one protesting slavery. William Lee in 1775 advocated the general emancipation of slaves in Virginia. Arthur Lee held the same views. It cost Northern nonholders of slaves nothing personally to abolish slavery in the seceding states, but it cost the estate of William Ludwell Lee of Greenspring \$30,000 in 1803 to manumit his slaves, and what is more, to provide them with homes and equipment. These are the things which never find their way into the history books. A knowledge of such facts would have strengthened the position of Virginia in 1861, but by then even the Virginians had forgotten them. The Lee letters were scattered, many of them unknown to scholars; as a consequence Richard Henry, William, and Arthur Lee have suffered greatly at the hands of American historians. It is significant also that serious historical work was not undertaken in this country until about the time of the Civil War, when Virginians bearing the name of Lee were none too popular, a curious instance of the sins of the children being visited on the fathers.

On the other hand, not only did John Adams save his papers, but

he kept a diary, and in his old age started an autobiography. His descendants preserved these treasures, and Charles Francis Adams, a capable grandson, published them in ten massive volumes. Historians revere them as the gospel, John Adams has a pedestal, and American history a New England flavor.

As for Richard Henry Lee, he made no preparations whatsoever, and his grandson and namesake, Richard Henry Lee of Leesburg, dispersed far and wide a collection of valuable letters and documents, including a copy of the Declaration of Independence which might have ransomed Stratford. Now, two centuries after his birth, we have only a mediocre biography brought out in 1825 by this same grandson, a two-volume collection of his letters, gathered at great cost and edited by James C. Ballagh, and a short sketch in *Lee of Virginia*, which, although only thirty-six pages long, is the best account of the man. Modern writers such as Philip Alexander Bruce, who devotes twenty-one pages to Richard Henry Lee in his *Virginia Plutarch*, reveal no new material.¹ The result is that Richard Henry Lee has no pedestal at all.

Many of our histories are unfortunately based on the writings of the great and the near great, as interpreted by biographers who did not always keep their accounts planted on a foundation of carefully established truth, and who were prone to follow blindly in the footsteps of other equally careless writers and thereby perpetuate all their errors. Richard Henry Lee's biographer graduated with classical honors from Dickinson College, practiced law in Leesburg, was professor of languages at Washington College, and subsequently became an Episcopal clergyman. He possessed all the papers of Richard Henry Lee and Arthur Lee; his father, Ludwell Lee (whose influence is discernible throughout the book) and two other children of Richard Henry Lee were still living, as were Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Charles Carroll, to whom it was dedicated. Everything would seem favorable to the production of a volume that would place Lee's name among the foremost founders of the young republic.

Its failure to do so is due to several factors. In the first place, even with all the things in his favor, the author might just as well have been writing his book in the Tower of London as in Leesburg in the year 1825. Cut off from access to every public record, it is not surprising that there should have been inaccuracies. But in addition to this, the book is poorly put together, contains neither preface nor

index, and is permeated with the author's own suppositions, which are not always fact, and which have thereby done lasting injury to his grandfather's memory.² Later, in William H. Michael's *Declaration of Independence*, we see the modern historian's treatment of the material furnished by the dutiful grandson in 1825, and the manner in which errors are passed on—a beautiful example of the way history is manufactured.³ The result is that Richard Henry Lee is deprived of his just due because of the scholarly waywardness of his biographers.

He has not only been neglected by historians but by present-day leaders in the effort to memorialize the country's great men. A large part of the year of 1932 was devoted to the commemoration of the bicentenary of George Washington's birth; outstanding memorials are the replica of his birthplace at Wakefield and the restoration there of the family graveyard, the Memorial Highway to Mount Vernon, and the George Washington Bridge over the Hudson at New York. That year also saw the dedication in the Capitol at Richmond of the marble busts of those eight Virginians who served as presidents of the United States. And January 19 of that same year witnessed a climax to this awakening of a due reverence for the past when, in the old hall of the House of Delegates in Richmond, a bronze statue of Robert E. Lee was unveiled. But the bicentennial of "the man who moved for freedom" passed practically unnoticed.

Richard Henry Lee lived in the day when all educated men had the incentive and felt the obligation to take part in politics. This sense of responsibility produced a type of citizen in Virginia which today has almost disappeared from the national scene, but in those days the ablest men held public office and molded public opinion. None of these founders of the Republic can be forgotten, but particularly do George Mason, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee seem to retain an intangible something which cannot be taken from them. As the dust of oblivion settles on the tomb of many a president, these men continue to stand high above the level of everyday mediocrity.

Chapter I

THE SEDITIONIST

I. BACKGROUND

RICHARD HENRY LEE was the first of the children of Thomas and Hannah Lee to call Stratford his birthplace. He was born there on January 20, 1732. His early education was obtained at home with a tutor until his twelfth year, when he entered Wakefield Academy in Yorkshire. The English system of education was Spartan training, but it produced a superb race of men. Richard Lee acquired the foundation of a classical education of no mean order, and after a tour of northern Europe returned to Virginia when he was twenty.

His return occurred during the short breathing spell enjoyed by Europe after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, negotiated in 1748 by the ablest statesmen of that day, men well versed in the niceties of monarchical diplomacy. When their labors were ended they had established a "balance of power" sustained and fortified by huge taxes and by standing armies of something like a million men. They had the vanity to believe that their work would endure for ages and that their names would be remembered, whereas in reality their efforts were destined to survive but a few years and to be upset by a handful of men in the backwoods of Virginia, among them a youth named Washington. This treaty meant little or nothing to America, for in the dispute over the western boundaries of the English colonies, from Maine to Georgia, it left them exactly where they had been for a generation. But in the ensuing rush by the European powers to occupy the vantage points along the Ohio, the French arrived first. Governor Dinwiddie thereupon resolved to send a "person of distinction" to the commander of the French forces, to know his reasons for a peacetime invasion of the British dominions. The envoy chosen for this delicate undertaking was George Washington, then but twenty-one

years of age, but in every respect worthy of the confidence placed in him.

Wakefield, the birthplace, is only five miles as the crow flies from Stratford, and George Washington and Richard Henry Lee were born but one month apart. By 1755 these young men had entered their twenty-fourth year, one recently returned from an English education, the other, doubtless more mature, the product of a school of hard knocks on the frontier. In March of this year both offered their services to General Braddock, hailed on his arrival as a deliverer; those of Washington were accepted, while Lee, who had raised a company of militia, was refused. Braddock's tragic defeat undoubtedly left a profound impression on these two young men: first, that British arms were not invincible, and second, that America must learn to defend herself. Three years later Braddock's defeat was avenged by Wolfe's capture of Quebec, and French dominion in northern America brought to an end.

In this spring of 1755 Richard Henry Lee was living with his brother, Philip Ludwell Lee, at Stratford, both parents now being dead. He devoted himself during this period to the study of the classics, modern history, and Roman and common law, and in the same year was elected a justice of the peace, an office corresponding to that of magistrate today. Two years later, on December 3, 1757, he was married to Anne Aylett, of the neighboring Westmoreland family.

This was the happy time when the Lees ruled Westmoreland. Philip Ludwell Lee was a member of the King's Council, and County Lieutenant, and at odd times he sat as a Justice and served a term as Sheriff, offices then of more importance than they are today. George Lee of Mount Pleasant was Clerk of the Court and Churchwarden; Thomas Ludwell Lee and Richard Henry Lee became Justices on the same day; Richard Lee of Lee Hall had a lifetime job as one of the two Burgesses from this county, and was also "of the quorum." Nor was Westmoreland the only enlightened community in the colony, for among the Burgesses at this time were Francis Lightfoot Lee from Loudoun, Henry Lee of Leesylvania from Prince William, and Thomas Ludwell Lee from Stafford; by 1761 John Lee of Essex had joined his relatives in Williamsburg during the season.

Richard Henry Lee was descended from seven Councillors and re-

lated to as many more, all of whom served for many years; Thomas Jefferson is said to have remarked that "few die and none resign." Richard Lee II sat in the Council for about thirty years, and Thomas Lee for seventeen. The Ludwells also served long terms, and seemed to enjoy nothing more than skirmishes with the constituted authorities, both temporal and ecclesiastical. Richard Henry inherited from these three generations of public servants a love of politics, considerable acumen, a generous store of resourcefulness, and political sagacity of a high order. By 1758 he was ready to enter public life.

2. BURGESS FROM WESTMORELAND

His career as a member of the House of Burgesses began on September 14, 1758, when he entered as one of the two delegates from Westmoreland, and it continued until this body ceased to exist. The *Journal* of the House indicates that it began auspiciously, for two days after he was seated he was placed on the important Committee of Privileges and Elections. By February we find him a member of the equally important Committee of Propositions and Grievances, and the following November he made the first of the addresses on which his fame as an orator is founded. It was carefully prepared, and is the only one to be preserved, having been found among his papers. This was the famous speech delivered in support of a resolution "to lay so heavy a duty on the importation of slaves, as effectually to put an end to that iniquitous and disgraceful traffic within the colony of Virginia." This maiden speech marked a dramatic entrance into public life. It was one of the first public utterances against slavery and it is significant that it came from a Southern colony.

Although short . . . it contains the germ of every sound argument which has since been unfolded on the moral character, the political barbarities, and the political consequences of the slave trade. How different would have been the actual conditions and the prospects of Virginia, had his arguments prevailed, and the policy which he recommended been adopted and enforced.

These were his biographer's comments on the speech, which is reproduced below:

Sir, as the consequences of the determination we must make in the subject of this day's debate will greatly affect posterity, as well

as ourselves, it surely merits our most serious attention. And well am I persuaded, sir, that if it be so considered, it will appear, both from reason and experience, that the importation of slaves into this colony has been, and will be attended with effects, dangerous, both to our political and moral interests. When it is observed that some of our neighboring colonies, though much later than ourselves in point of settlement, are now far before us in improvement, to what, sir, can we attribute this strange, this unhappy truth: The reason seems to be this: that with their whites they import arts and agriculture, whilst we, with our blacks, exclude both. Nature has not partially favoured them with superiour fertility of soil, nor do they enjoy more of the sun's cheering and enlivening influence; yet greatly have they outstript us.

Were not this sufficient, sir, let us reflect on our dangerous vicinity to a powerful neighbor, and that slaves, from the nature of their situation, can never feel an interest in our cause, because they see us enjoying every privilege and luxury, and find security established, not for them, but for others, and because they and their posterity are subjected for ever to the most abject and mortifying slavery. Such a people must be natural enemies to society, and their increase consequently dangerous.

This reasoning we find verified in the Grecian and Roman histories, where some of the greatest convulsions recorded, were occasioned by the insurrection of their slaves; insomuch, says a Roman historian, that Sicily was more cruelly laid waste by the war with the slaves, than by that with the Carthagenians. This slavish policy still continueing at Rome, at length increased their slaves to such prodigious number, as obliged the Romans to make laws for their government so severe, that the bare relation of them is shocking to human nature.

Nor, sir, are these the only reasons to be urged against the importation. In my opinion, not the cruelties practised in the conquest of Spanish America, not the savage barbarity of a Saracen, can be more big with atrocity, than our cruel trade to Africa. There we can encourage those poor, ignorant people, to wage eternal warfare against each other; not nation against nation, but father against son, children against parents, and brothers against brothers, whereby parental, filial, and fraternal duty is terribly violated; that by war, stealth, or surprise, we Christians may be furnished with our fellow-creatures, who are no longer to be considered as created in the image of God as well as ourselves, and equally entitled to liberty and freedom by the great law of nature, but they are to be deprived,

for ever deprived, of all the comforts of life, and to be made the most wretched of the human kind. I have seen it observed by a great writer, that Christianity, by introducing into Europe the truest principles of humanity, universal benevolence, and brotherly love, had happily abolished civil slavery. Let us, who profess the same religion, practise its precepts; and by agreeing to this duty, convince the world that we know and practise our true interests, and that we pay a proper regard to the dictates of justice and humanity!

This probably constitutes the severest indictment of slavery ever uttered by a Virginian, and not even the most fervent abolitionist in later years could improve on his arguments. But Great Britain, which had introduced the importation of slaves, continued to oppose all efforts by Virginia and other American provinces for its extinction.

Several years later Richard Henry Lee was again in the public eye because of his activities in the House of Burgesses. This time, while he actually rendered a service of great importance to the colony, he brought down upon his own head the ire of the political bigwigs of the day, and left a trail of resentment in his wake which was to follow him for years to come. In 1764 the Speaker of the House was John Robinson, who was also Treasurer of the colony. He had held both offices for many years, and was the embodiment of wealth, powerful family connections,⁴ and political omnipotence. But unfortunately there was also a strong suspicion that he made improper use of the public money. A delicate matter indeed, and concerning which "great indecision and backwardness was evidenced on all sides." Richard Lee satisfied himself that there were grounds for this suspicion, then arose and moved that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the treasury. Robinson was a formidable adversary for a young fledgling statesman to have chosen in his initial encounter, and immediately things began to happen. Quoting from Lee's biographer, "the Speaker fixt his eyes with a dark and terrible frown upon Mr. Lee. The members opposed to his motion turned their faces from him, with haughty and disdainful airs, but these things had no other effect than to animate Mr. Lee to strains of indignant eloquence." The biography continues: "The most able and influential members of the House opposed his motion, yet he refuted with great force all objections to the inquiry, and seemed to gain strength and ardor from

the very means taken to defeat it." His motion was finally adopted, and despite the resentment it aroused in some quarters this achievement gave young Lee a reputation throughout the colony, and the knowledge that in the crises of the future he could rely on a clear head and calm nerves. Due, doubtless, to the supervision of Speaker Robinson, no mention of Lee's part in the exposure appears in the *Journal* of the House, save for a reference to his being a member of the committee to examine the Treasurer's reports. When, several months later, an attempt was made to save Robinson's face on an occasion when Lee was absent, Patrick Henry attacked the measure unmercifully, and it was defeated in the Council; as a consequence a number of historians⁵ give him full credit for the exposure instead of Lee, who had initiated it. Yet there can be no doubt of the authenticity of Lee's part, for it occasioned some violent repercussions. Many years later John Adams wrote in his memoirs:

Mr. Wythe told me that Thomas Ludwell Lee, the elder brother of Richard Henry, was the delight of the eyes of Virginia, and by far the most popular man they had, but that Richard Lee was not. I asked the reason, for Mr. Lee appeared a scholar, a gentleman, a man of uncommon eloquence, and an agreeable man. Mr. Wythe said all this was true, but Mr. Lee had, when he was very young, and when he first came into the House of Burgesses, moved and urged on an inquiry into the state of the Treasury, which was found deficient in large sums which had been lent by the Treasurer to many of the more influential families of the country, who found themselves exposed, and had never forgiven Mr. Lee.⁶

In this early period of his public life Richard Lee also prepared "an humble address to congratulate His Majesty on the glorious success of his arms in America"; authored a bill to enhance the credit of paper currency and another one for the more expeditious trial of criminals, and served as a member of the committee to address the King on the birth of an heir to his "crown and virtues." He was placed on the Committee of Trade, he helped reduce the duty on northern rum, and he also prepared and introduced a number of other bills, some of them with a personal flavor. The first of these was for the building of a public warehouse at Stratford Landing. This was evidently done, for ten years later we learn that the warehouses at Stratford "have been lately entirely destroyed."

3. DEVELOPER OF FAUQUIER

Initially launched in public life, Richard Lee turned his eyes, about this time, to the lands his father had left him in Fauquier, and through the development of these properties he may be considered one of the founders of the town of Warrenton, which grew up around them. These were the grants Thomas Lee had patented in 1718. Because of the distinction he had gained by his opposition to the slave trade, Richard Henry by 1759 had sufficient influence in the House of Burgesses to arrange that the county seat be located on his property. The county had been organized in that year and the court convened for the first time at John Duncan's home near Turkey Run Church, which had been agreed upon as a proper site for a permanent courthouse. But the honorable court was overruled, a writ from the Governor informing it that "the house of William Jones' on the lands of Richard Henry Lee" had been selected instead.

It is interesting to speculate on the appearance of the little community in Richard Henry's day. In 1759 Cunningham's "red store" stood on a high hill, now occupied by the Post Office, at the junction of several sad excuses for roads. These cowpaths led to Winchester, Falmouth, and probably to Sulphur Springs, and an important spur led to Dumfries. Alexander Cunningham was a merchant prince from Falmouth, and it is significant that this wily Scotsman considered this a suitable location for one of his early "chain stores." William Jones III lived a short distance down a road which today is known as Culpeper Street, and John Duncan's house was a mile to the southeast, on the way to Falmouth. In July of the same year a temporary courthouse was ordered built at a cost of twenty-four pounds; the construction of the brick building was not undertaken until 1760, when the site was changed to the east side of Culpeper Road, about three city blocks below the present courthouse. A tavern was opened by Andrew Edwards, a blacksmith set up shop, and Fauquier Courthouse, as the town was first called, blossomed forth.

An index of its growth was Richard Lee's sale and lease of lots. While the only sale of any importance in 1759 was for five hundred fourteen acres to William Edmunds, thirteen leases were executed in 1764; most of these were for small tracts of from one hundred to two hundred acres, but four of them were for lots near the courthouse.

Two leases of fair size were drawn in 1765, also near the courthouse; in the same year he and his brother Thomas Ludwell Lee and their wives, Anne and Mary Aylett, executed seven leases for lands in the northern portion of Fauquier, on Goose Creek and Little River, property which had been patented by William Aylett in 1741 and left to these two daughters in 1744. One of the leases was to Thomas Marshall, father of the Chief Justice, and here John Marshall lived from about 1765 to 1773.

There were sixteen transactions in 1767 with Martin Pickett, who was probably the outstanding citizen of the town. Two years later, in 1769, there were seven leases, all for large tracts at some distance from the town. The year 1772 saw great activity, thirteen leases totaling twenty-one hundred acres being recorded, many by tenants desirous of increasing their holdings. In 1773 another flock of leases appears, executed by Thomas Ludwell Lee and his wife, Mary, and Richard Henry Lee. By this time the latter had married again, and his second wife had no part in these transactions.

The town must have been a place of some character by 1777, when Hezekiah Balch, a graduate of Princeton, organized a classical school. A decade later Richard Henry Lee endowed this school with two acres of land and called it a "seminary of learning." It was incorporated as Warren Academy in 1788, and destroyed by Northern forces in the Civil War. In 1790 Richard Henry directed that a survey be made and a town laid out, old Rappahannock Road becoming the Main Street of today. Names given to other prominent streets were Lee, Horner, Winchester, and Culpeper. By this time the old courthouse had become inadequate, so the present site was purchased and a handsome edifice erected. In the square behind it, on the spot now occupied by the Warren Green Hotel, stood the home of Martin Pickett.

Few transactions took place during the Revolutionary War and the collection of rentals fell off. In 1792 there were leases for six lots in Warrenton, and with these the story of Richard Henry Lee's land speculations ends. Figure 8 in Part II shows the location of the various leases.⁸ The property was left to his three sons, Cassius, Thomas, and Ludwell (Figure 12), and most of it eventually came into possession of Charles Lee, Attorney General of the United States, who had married Richard Henry Lee's daughter, Anne.⁹

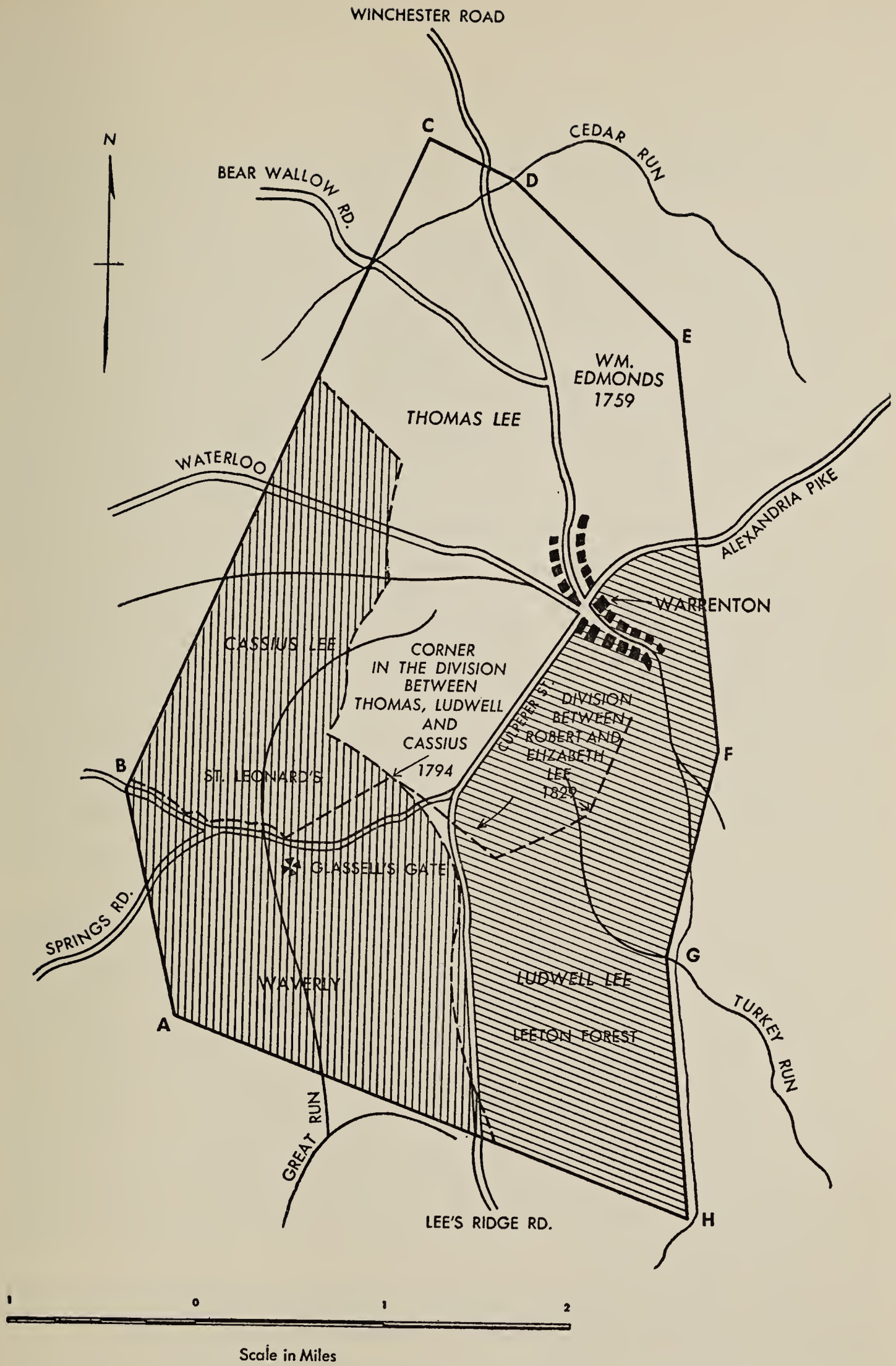


Figure 12. Division of Richard Henry Lee's Fauquier Lands Among Three of His Sons, 1794.

4. TAXATION

Richard Henry Lee began his career at a time when relations between the mother country and the colonies were rapidly becoming strained over the issue of taxation. Long had the British government cherished an ardent desire to bring the American colonies into a condition of greater obedience to royal prerogative, and as early as 1756 a stamp tax had been suggested by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. At this time (1760) there were a number of army officers seated in Parliament who had served in America and might be expected to know something of the place and the people, but when not defending their military reputations they too were advocating taxation. The revenue from these taxes was to be spent entirely in America for the salaries of the royal governors, judges, etc., and the cost of twenty new regiments. In the future no judge would serve "during good behaviour," as in the past, but "during the King's pleasure," a very different matter, for the slight change in the wording of commissions would provide what Bancroft calls a civil garrison. This policy of depriving the colonies of self-government and maintaining a standing army by means of taxes arbitrarily imposed upon them was heartily advocated by Charles Townshend, First Lord of Trade, who fairly dazzled the rural members of Parliament with the prospect of transferring some of their tax burdens to the helpless colonials.

Accordingly, in 1761 it was determined to enforce the old Navigation Acts, by which duties were levied on American imports and trade restricted to the mother country; smuggling, New England's most profitable industry, was to be abolished. To accomplish this, Writs of Assistance, or search warrants, were issued in Boston, enabling customs officers to enter private homes at any time. The eloquent James Otis hastened to point out that the issuance of these writs was contrary to the spirit of the British Constitution, and that the exercise of this kind of power had cost one king his head and another his crown.

As long as France held control of Canada the British authorities deemed it unwise to attempt any measures that might provoke discontent and weaken loyalty, but with the dawn of peace in 1763 the long-sought occasion arrived. Exactly thirteen days after the ratification of the peace treaty the initial steps were taken, and various

ideas, based on a hazy knowledge of American character or on no knowledge at all, were put forward to be tried out on the hapless colonies. Lord Halifax thought some bishops would prove helpful, others prescribed a large military force, and many warmed to the plan for taxation.

Both American and English historians agree that much of the trouble in the colonies was due to the irritating tactics employed by the royal government and the false information sent home by the governors. Sir George Trevelyan goes so far as to state that the letters of Bernard, the governor of Massachusetts, contained "the germ of all the culpable and foolish proceedings which, at the long last, alienated America." Having instructed George the Third and his ministers "in the art of throwing away a choice portion of a mighty empire" Bernard was rewarded with a baronetcy. It is true, however, that the British government was also in a difficult position; a number of the colonies had ancient charters containing many liberal provisions made in the days when they were young and weak: Maryland and Pennsylvania were little less than hereditary principalities in all but name, possessing constitutions and electing their own governors. Another deterrent to the imposition of taxes was the fact that the colonies had willingly subscribed more than their share to the French and Indian War, a fact which had been acknowledged by Parliament.

Nevertheless, in March, 1764, by means of a Declaratory Act, Parliament announced its intention of taxing the colonies at a future date, a piece of folly which gave the Americans a year to plan their resistance. In Virginia, on November 14, the House of Burgesses appointed a strong committee to draft an address to the King, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a remonstrance to the House of Commons. Serving on this committee were Peyton Randolph, Landon Carter, Richard Henry Lee, Wythe, Pendleton, and Bland. While there is some disagreement as to the authorship of these documents, there is pretty conclusive proof that Lee wrote the first two,¹⁰ here given:

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the council and burgesses of your ancient colony and dominion of Virginia, now

met in general assembly, beg leave to assure your majesty of our firm and inviolable attachment to your sacred person and government; and as your faithful subjects here have at all times been zealous to demonstrate this truth, by a ready compliance with the royal requisitions during the late war, by which a heavy and oppressive debt of near half a million had been incurred, so at this time they implore permission to approach the throne with humble confidence, and to entreat that your majesty will be graciously pleased to protect our people of this colony in the enjoyment of their ancient and inestimable right of being governed by such laws, respecting their internal polity and taxation, as are derived from their own consent, with the approbation of their sovereign or his substitute: a right which, as men, and descendants of Britons, they have ever quietly possessed, since, first by royal permission and encouragement, they left the mother kingdom to extend its commerce and dominion.

Your majesty's dutiful subjects of Virginia most humbly and unanimously hope, that this invaluable birthright, descended to them from their ancestors, and in which they have been protected by your royal predecessors, will not be suffered to receive an injury under the reign of your sacred majesty, already so illustriously distinguished by your gracious attention to the liberties of the people.

That your majesty may long live to make nations happy, is the ardent prayer of your faithful subjects, the council and burgesses of Virginia.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled:

The Memorial of the Council and Burgesses of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, Humbly Represents,

That your memorialists hope an application to your lordships, the fixed and hereditary guardians of British liberty, will not be thought improper at this time, when measures are proposed, subversive, as they conceive, of that freedom, which all men, especially those who derive their constitution from Britain, have a right to enjoy; and they flatter themselves that your lordships will not look upon them as objects so unworthy your attention, as to regard any impropriety in the form or manner of their application, for your lordships' protection, of their just and undoubted rights as Britons.

It cannot be presumption in your memorialists to call themselves by this distinguished name, since they are descended from Britons,

who left their native country to extend its territory and dominion, and who, happily for Britain, and as your memorialists once thought, for themselves too, effected this purpose. As our ancestors brought with them every right and privilege they could with justice claim in their mother kingdom, their descendants may conclude, they cannot be deprived of those rights without injustice.

Your memorialists conceive it to be a fundamental principle of the British constitution, without which freedom can nowhere exist, that the people are not subject to any taxes but such as are laid on them by their own consent or by those who are legally appointed to represent them: property must become too precarious for the genius of a free people which can be taken from them at the will of others, who cannot know what taxes such people can bear, or the easiest mode of raising them; and who are not under that restraint, which is the greatest security against a burdensome taxation, when the representatives themselves must be affected by every tax imposed on the people.

Your memorialists are therefore led into an humble confidence, that your lordships will not think any reason sufficient to support such a power, in the British parliament, where the colonies cannot be represented: a power never before constitutionally assumed, and which, if they have a right to exercise on any occasion, must necessarily establish this melancholy truth, that the inhabitants of the colonies are the slaves of Britons from whom they are descended: and from whom they might expect every indulgence that the obligations of interest and affection can entitle them to.

Your memorialists have been invested with the right of taxing their own people from the first establishment of a regular government in the colony, and requisitions have been constantly made to them by their sovereigns, on all occasions when the assistance of the colony was thought necessary to preserve the British interest in America; from whence they must conclude they cannot now be deprived of a right they have so long enjoyed, and which they have never forfeited.

The expenses incurred during the last war, in compliance with the demands on this colony by our late and present most gracious sovereigns, have involved us in a debt of near half a million, a debt not likely to decrease under the continued expense we are at, in providing for the security of the people against the incursions of our savage neighbors; at a time when the low estate of our staple commodity, the total want of specie, and the late restrictions upon

the trade of the colonies, render the circumstances of the people extremely distressful; and which, if taxes are accumulated upon them by the British parliament, will make them truly deplorable.

Your memorialists cannot suggest to themselves any reason why they should not still be trusted with the property of their people, with whose abilities, and the least burdensome mode of taxing, (with great deference to the superior wisdom of parliament), they must be best acquainted.

Your memorialists hope they shall not be suspected of being actuated, on this occasion, by any principles but those of purest loyalty and affection, as they always endeavored by their conduct to demonstrate, that they consider their connexion with Great Britain, the seat of liberty, as their greatest happiness.

The duty they owe to themselves and their posterity, lays your memorialists under the necessity of endeavoring to establish their constitution upon its proper foundation; and they do most humbly pray your lordships to take this subject into your consideration with the attention that is due to the well-being of the colonies, on which the prosperity of Great Britain does, in a great measure, depend.

In spite of these fervent appeals the Stamp Act was passed by Parliament on February 27, 1765, to go into effect the following November. After this time Americans would be required to affix tax stamps to all business and legal documents, marriages and birth certificates, etc., so that defiance of the Act amounted to economic ruin. The passage of the Act caused varying repercussions throughout the colonies. Some of the reactions are particularly interesting. Not one of the American agents in London, including Benjamin Franklin, believed it would be resisted. The Massachusetts legislature yielded obediently, James Otis declaring that "it is the duty of all, humbly and silently to acquiesce in all the decisions of the supreme legislature." This was by no means generally accepted, however, for the Stamp Officer was hanged in effigy and the fine home of Chief Justice Hutchinson sacked by a mob. And down in Virginia an act occurred which stiffened the backbone of each and every colony. Patrick Henry entered the House of Burgesses on May 20, 1765, and nine days later celebrated his twenty-ninth birthday by delivering these resolutions against taxation without representation:

- (a) The first settlers brought with them and transmitted to their posterity all the privileges enjoyed by the people of Great Britain.
- (b) By two royal charters, granted by King James, the people are entitled to all the privileges of natural-born subjects.
- (c) The people of the colony have enjoyed the right of being governed by their own assembly in the article of taxes and internal police.
- (d) Any other mode of taxation is illegal.
- (e) The people are not bound to yield obedience to any law designed to impose taxation, other than the laws of the assembly.
- (f) Persons holding a contrary view are deemed enemies of the colony.

These arguments were based on the fact that the Stamp Act was in itself contrary to English constitutional law, to which they, as British subjects, were entitled. They contain, in essence, what Richard Lee had outlined in his letters to the King and the House of Lords the previous year. The debate on the resolutions brought out some heated forensics, in which Patrick Henry uttered the memorable words, "If this be treason, make the most of it!" According to Bancroft, this is the way the fire began. "Virginia rang the alarum bell for the continent."

Of the six resolutions, the first four were finally adopted by the House in the form in which they appear in the *Journal*. A copy was sent to Philadelphia and from thence to New York, where it was treated like dynamite and accounted so treasonable that it was handed about with great privacy, but in New England it was circulated far and wide and proved the occasion for the disorders which afterwards broke out. The *Boston Gazette* declared: "The people of Virginia have spoken very sensibly, and the frozen politicians of a more northern government say they have spoken treason."

5. SEDITION

The hanging of a stamp officer's effigy and the pillaging of the home of a chief justice, though regarded as valiant expressions of protest, are open to criticism, as is the Boston Tea Party, where guests disguised themselves as Indians and have remained unknown if not unsung unto this very day; whereas in Virginia the House of Burgesses,

from the beginning to the end of this era of controversy, carried on the contention in a calm and dignified fashion. But in the early spring of 1766 a momentous event took place in this colony. If Patrick Henry cherished a copy of his Stamp Act resolutions to the end of his days and delighted to recall the merry contest he had waged in their behalf, Richard Henry Lee must also have treasured a similar precious memento. Down in Westmoreland, on the 27th of February, he called a meeting of the people at Leeds on the Rappahannock, and there he offered a series of bold resolutions which breathed the true spirit of the age, and which became known as the Westmoreland Resolves (Plate XXIV). He was the first to sign his name to this document, and was followed by his brothers, Francis Lightfoot, Thomas Ludwell, and William, and by his cousins, Richard and John Lee, Jr.

This revolutionary document was the first one of outright defiance to be drawn up and signed, and constituted the first organized opposition to British authority in America. In spirit, content, and purpose it spelled sedition, and when we consider what the penalties could be for those signing it, we more than ever stand in awe of the daring of the man who drew it and those who put their names to it. "*We do determine at every hazard, and paying no regard to danger or death, we will exert every faculty to prevent the execution of the said Stamp Act in any instance whatsoever within this colony.*" Those were brave words, written in boldness of heart and resoluteness of spirit, and their guarantors were prepared to stand behind them no matter what the cost.

They are reproduced on pages 138-39, together with the list of signers, from a facsimile of the original document.

The original of this priceless record is now preserved in the archives of the Virginia Historical Society.¹¹ There can be no mistaking its purpose, no doubt as to the identity of its "associates." They signed their names for the edification of future generations, and then proceeded to make those names worthy of remembrance. Their Resolves should rank with the Declaration of Independence, for they displayed a higher degree of moral courage than did the signers of this document, who had the backing of an army and the united force of public opinion behind them.

The Stamp Act failed, as it was bound to do, for the Americans

ceased dealing with British merchants, wore homespun, and began to develop local industries. As a matter of expediency the act was repealed in March, 1766, the year after it went into effect. There was a brief interval in which joy reigned in America. Virginia forgave all, voted a statue of the King, and an obelisk on which were to be inscribed the names of those men in London who had proved themselves the friends of America during the late unpleasantness. They were not numerous. Richard Henry Lee was named to the committee to prepare an inscription for this memorial. The obelisk never was erected, but the names of those Englishmen have not been forgotten.

The joy was short lived, for in 1767 a new schedule of duties was levied, this time including one on tea. When news of the passage of this revenue act reached Boston it increased the suspicions already felt there, although no protest was made for several months. Then a town meeting voted to refrain from importing articles of British manufacture. It is highly probable that this opposition would also have subsided had it not been for the *Monitor's Letters*, written by Arthur Lee of Virginia, and the *Farmer's Letters*, by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, which were widely circulated. When, in December, 1767, Samuel Adams drew up a letter of instructions to lay before the British cabinet, his cautious colleagues weighed every word, tempered every harsh expression, and called Parliament the supreme legislature, something Virginia did not admit; on the question of sending a circular to the other colonies, "caution amounting to timidity" was observed, and the proposal voted down. But two weeks later the writings of Lee and Dickinson had caused a reversal of action, and Adams produced a very able circular. The day after this paper was adopted by the Massachusetts Assembly, the Board of Commissioners of the Revenue secretly sent a petition home asking for troops, and Governor Bernard wrote letters grossly exaggerating conditions in the colony. The troops came, and according to Arthur Lee, "stocks fell on the London market as if war had actually been declared against France or Spain." Although not legally compelled to do so, Boston allowed the troops to be quartered in the town. This the House of Lords looked upon as a sign of weakening morale, and was emboldened to petition the King to cause the principal actors in the disturbance to be brought to England and tried for treason.

ROUZED by Danger and alarmed at Attempts foreign & domestic to reduce the People of this Country to a State of abject and detestable slavery by destroying that free and happy constitution of Government under which they have hitherto lived,—We who subscribe this Paper have associated & do bind ourselves to each other, to God and to our Country, by the firmest Tye that Religion & Virtue can frame, most sacredly and punctually to stand by, and with our Lives & Fortunes to support, maintain and defend each other in the Observation and Execution of these following Articles.

First, we declare all due Allegiance and Obedience to our lawful Sovereign George the Third King of Great Britain. And we determine to the utmost of our Power to preserve the Laws, the Peace and good Order of this Colony as far as is consistent with the Preservation of our Constitutional Rights and Liberty.

2^{dly} As we know it to be the Birthright Privilege of every British Subject (and of the People of Virginia as being such) founded on Reason, Law and Compact, That he cannot be legally tryed but by his Peers, and that he cannot be taxed but by Consent of a Parliament in which he is represented by Persons chosen by the People and who themselves pay a part of the Tax they impose on others. If therefore any Person or Persons, shall attempt by any Action or Proceeding to deprive this Colony of those fundamental Rights, we will immediately regard him or them as the most dangerous Enemy of the Community, and we will go to any Extremity not only to prevent the Success of such Attempts but to stigmatize and punish the Offender.

3^{dly} As the Stamp Act does absolutely direct the Property of the People to be taken from them without their Consent express'd by their Representatives, and as in many cases it deprives the British American Subject of his Right to Tryal by Jury; we do determine at every hazard and paying no Regard to Danger or to Death, we will exert every Faculty to prevent the Execution of the said Stamp

Act in any Instance whatsoever within this Colony. And every abandoned Wretch who shall be so lost to Virtue and publick Good, as wickedly to contribute to the introduction or fixure of the Stamp Act in this Colony, by using Stamped Paper, or by any other Means: we will with the utmost Expedition convince all such Profligates, that immediate danger and disgrace shall attend their prostitute Purpose.

4^{thly} That the last Article may most surely and effectually be executed, we engage to each other, that whenever it shall be known to any of this Association that any Person is so conducting himself as to favor the Introduction of the Stamp Act, that immediate Notice shall be given to as many of the Association as possible, and that every Individual so inform'd shall with Expedition repair to a place of meeting to be appointed as near the Scene of Action as may be.

5^{thly} Each Associator shall do his true endeavor to obtain as many Signers to this Association as he possibly can.

6^{thly} If any Attempt shall be made upon the Liberty or Property of any Associator for any Action or Thing to be done in Consequence of the Agreement, we do most solemnly bind ourselves by the sacred Engagements above enter'd into, at the utmost risk of our Lives and Fortunes to restore such Associate to his Liberty, and to protect him in the enjoyment of his Property.

In Testimony of the good Faith with which we resolve to execute this Association, we have this 27th day of February 1766 in Virginia put our Hands & Seals hereto.

Richard Henry Lee	William Sydnor
Will. Robinson	John Monroe
Lewis Willis	William Cocke
Thos. Lud: Lee	
Samuel Washington	Will ^m . Grayson
Charles Washington	W ^m . Brockenbrough

Moore Fauntleroy
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Thomas Jones

Rodham Kenner
Spencer Mottram Ball

Richard Mitchell

Joseph Murdock

Rich^d Parker

Spencer Monroe

John Watts

Rob^t Lovell

John Blagge

Charles Weeks

William Booth

Geo: Turberville

Alvin Moxley

W^m Flood

John Ballantine Jnr.

William Lee

Thomas Chilton

Richard Buckner

Will Chilton

Joseph Peirce

John Williams

Jn^o Blackwell

Winder S. Kenner

W^m Bronaugh

Will: Peirce

John Berryman

Jn^o Dickson

John Browne
Edward Sanford
Charles Chilton
Lau^r Washington

Saml Selden

Daniel M'Carty

Jer. Rust

Edw^d Ransdell

Townshend Dade

Laur. Washington

John Ashton

W^m Brent

Francis Foushee

John Smith Jr.

Will Ball

Thomas Barnes

Jos. Blackwell

Reuben Meriwether

E^dw MOUNTJOY

Will^m MOUNTJOY

Thomas MOUNTJOY

John MOUNTJOY

Gilb^t Campbell

Jos. Lane

Richard Lee

Daniel Tibbs

Fran^s Thornton Jnr.

Peter Rust

John Lee Jun^r.

Fran^s Waring

John Upshaw

Meriwether Smith

Thomas Roane

James Edmondson

James Webb Jun^r.

John Edmondson

James Banks

Smith Young

W. Roane

Rich. Hodges

* Rich. Hodges

James Upshaw

James Booker

A. Montague

Richard Jeffries

John Suggitt

Jn^o S. Woodcock

Robert Wormeley Carter

John Beale Jun^r.

John Newton

Will Beale Jun^r.

Ch^s Mortimer

John Edmondson

Charles Beale

Peter Grant

Thomson Mason

Jon^a Beckwith

James Samford

John Belfield

W. Smith

John Aug^t. Washington

Thomas Belfield

Edgcomb Suggitt

Henry Francks

John Bland Jun^r.

Ja^s Emerson

John Richards

Tho^s Jett

Thomas Douglas

Max Robinson

John Orr

Thomas Logan

Jo Milliken

Ebenezer Fisher

Hancock Eustace

* *Editor's Note:* It appears that Richard Hodges signed his name twice opposite one seal because of the smear that covered part of Roane's signature.

Sir George Trevelyan must have possessed a strong prejudice as well as a keen wit, for he wrote:

The English ministers were sore and nervous. The mildest whisper of a non-importation agreement, and the most distant echo of a revenue riot, so long as they came from beyond the Western waters, awoke reminiscences which were too much for their temper and their equanimity. The King, especially, had Boston on the brain. To this day there are some among her sons who can forgive his memory for anything rather than for the singular light in which he persisted in regarding their classic city. The capital of Massachusetts, in the eyes of its Sovereign, was nothing better than a center of vulgar sedition, bristling with Trees of Liberty and strewn about with brickbats and broken glass; where his enemies went about clothed in homespun, and his friends in tar and feathers.

When Adams' circular reached Virginia, again it was the Old Dominion which met the crisis. The Assembly met on May 8, 1769, to greet a new governor and a good one—Lord Botetourt, a baron of the realm, sent to Virginia as a conciliatory gesture. He was given a cordial welcome with elaborate festivities, and then the burgesses proceeded to draft their own protest against the new revenue law, couched in bolder language than that employed in Massachusetts. The British Secretary for Colonial Affairs was “amazed and shocked” at this step on the part of Virginia—the unanimous action of both branches of the Assembly. The declarations won the admiration of all America and carried dismay to the throne of George the Third. Bancroft describes them as “concise, simple, and effective; so calm in manner and so perfect in substance that time finds no omission to regret, no improvement to suggest.” He goes on to say that “the menace of arresting patriots lost its terrors, and Virginia's action consolidated union.”

Of course Botetourt had to dissolve the Assembly. The members promptly adjourned to a private residence, where they adopted the “association” drafted by George Mason of Gunston, pledging them to continue the nonimportation until all the revenue laws of 1767 should be repealed. This gave the boycott the necessary impetus, “the puny child became a giant,” and colony after colony entered the compact. Then the burgesses did a characteristic thing: they brought their deliberations to a close by drinking some toasts before retiring to their homes:

THE KING, THE QUEEN, and ROYAL FAMILY

His Excellency Lord BOTETOURT and Prosperity to VIRGINIA

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BRITISH LIBERTY in AMERICA,
and all true PATRIOTS, the Supporters thereof.

Duke of RICHMOND: Earl of SHELBURNE: Col. Barre

The late SPEAKER (Peyton Randolph)

The TREASURER of the Colony (Robert Carter Nicholas)

The FARMER and MONITOR (John Dickinson and Arthur Lee)

Chapter II

THE SIGNER

I. COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE

JOHN DICKINSON, in a letter to Richard Henry Lee just before the Virginia Assembly met in 1770, points out something which should never be lost sight of in these events leading up to independence, and that is the pre-eminent position of Virginia among the colonies. "It is as much in her power to dishearten them [the colonies] as to encourage them," Dickinson wrote. Virginia's power, moreover, extended beyond the Atlantic, for as a result of the actions of the Virginia Burgesses, the royal government was "palsied by indecision," and on April 12, 1770, Parliament repealed all duties save that on tea.

Virginia's stand stiffened the resistance of the other colonies, and two years later events in New England brought on the move which was the initial step in decisive action throughout the country. In June of 1772 the British sloop *Gaspé*, busily engaged in enforcing the Navigation Acts in a highhanded and tyrannical fashion, ran aground off Rhode Island, thus affording an opportunity for a band of men to come on board, overpower the crew, and burn the vessel. The affair deserved punishment but the British government went too far. Lord Dartmouth declared the attack to be high treason and demanded that the responsible parties be sent to England for trial. Following this event, in August a directive went out from England that henceforth all Massachusetts judges would be paid by the Crown rather than the Colony, thus striking directly at the independence of the judiciary. The time to act had arrived, and by October "committees of correspondence" had been set up all over Massachusetts.

When Samuel Adams wrote to Richard Henry Lee the following April, urging that similar committees be established in every colony for the purpose of communicating with one another on their respective

rights and grievances, he found that Virginia, characteristically, had already acted. When its Assembly met in Williamsburg in March of that year (1773), the lead had been taken by a small group of the younger burgesses: Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and Dabney Carr, who had drawn up resolutions appointing a Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry. These resolutions have been attributed to Lee; they certainly contain indications of his craftsmanship, although it is possible that Jefferson drew them. They were offered in the House by the brilliant Dabney Carr and supported by Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, and were unanimously adopted. Soon other colonies elected their own committees.

The idea of intercolonial committees of correspondence had been advocated by Richard Henry Lee as early as 1768, and their organization was a step which "struck a greater panic in the ministers than anything that had taken place since the passage of the Stamp Act." These were the words of William Lee, writing from London. Richard Henry is said to have supported the resolutions with great eloquence, and he became a member of the Committee, as would be expected.

He also appears to have been involved in matters having to do with the Church, for on July 12, 1771, he and Bland were ordered to convey the thanks of the House to the Reverends Henley, Gwatkin, Hewitt, and Bland for their "wise and timely opposition" to the creation of American bishops. Many years later, while President of Congress, Lee was himself instrumental in securing a bishop. But by then times had changed!

In the meantime he had married again, in June or July of 1769, his first wife having died on December 12, 1768, leaving four children—Thomas, Ludwell, Mary, and Hannah, all of whom married, and except for Mary, left issue. His second wife was Mrs. Anne (Gaskins) Pinckard, widow of Thomas Pinckard and daughter of Colonel Thomas Gaskins, senior, of Westmoreland. By this marriage he had three daughters—Anne, Henrietta (Harriot), and Sarah, and a son, Francis Lightfoot, who all left descendants.¹² His son, Cassius, born in 1779, died in 1798 while a student at Princeton.

With the establishment of intercolonial Committees of Correspondence throughout the colonies, all that was needed to bring about a general assembly of these committees was some further act of aggression by the British government. It was not long in coming. The

question of taxation was revived, the issue over the duty on tea came to a head, and the Boston Tea Party, on December 16, 1773, was the result. Parliament passed a series of retaliatory acts culminating in the closing of the port of Boston on June 1, 1774.

When this news reached Williamsburg, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Jefferson, and several others consulted on the proper action to be taken in order to impress the people with the gravity of the situation, and it was agreed to appoint a day of fasting and humiliation. The committee was somewhat uncertain about the procedure, but fortunately the library of the Council Chamber provided records of such things, composed by the Puritans in the days of Cromwell. Jefferson states that it was necessary to modernize the language a bit and to find the right man to offer such a resolution; Robert Carter Nicholas, an elderly gentleman with a properly sanctimonious demeanor, was finally selected. Governor Dunmore, the last of the royal governors as well as the worst,¹³ regarded the resolves as highly offensive, and dissolved the Assembly, but "dissolved" burgesses still could meet as citizens, patriots, and friends. They formed the Williamsburg Association, and recommended that no goods of any kind be purchased from the East India Company save saltpeter and spices, and that each colony elect delegates to a general congress of all the colonies, which would meet annually. Again, it was Virginia who took the initiative, and the direct outgrowth of this was the formation of the First Continental Congress.

On August 1 the first of five Virginia Conventions opened in Williamsburg. This particular one is chiefly remembered for its action in selecting the Virginia delegates to the Congress to be held at Philadelphia the next month; its resolution to buy no slaves imported from any place whatever (this was Virginia, not New England, and the year was 1774, facts which should be noted); to purchase no goods imported from Great Britain except medicine, and to use no more tea. Chosen to represent Virginia in Philadelphia were Peyton Randolph, Speaker of the Virginia House, who was to serve as the first President of Congress, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton. We are afforded a contemporaneous view of these delegates by lines to Samuel Pleasants from his brother-in-law, Roger Atkinson¹⁴ of "Mansfield," near Petersburg:

Mans'd, Oct. 1st, 1774.

Mr. Samuel Pleasants.

The times seem to require something to be said on public affairs. . . . First and foremost then our 7 Delegates from Virg'a. . . . ye first chosen was our worthy Speaker, a venerable character whom I well know & love as a speaker, that is ye least venerable part of his character. He is not an orator, but he is an honest man—has knowledge, temper, experience, judgm't, & above all things Integrity & a true Roman spirit, was there occasion to produce it. He, I find, is ye Chairman. The choice will reflect honour on ye Judges & ye Chairman will do honour to all America, to human Nature & let me tell you, will under God, with reverence I speak it, be ye Salvation of Britain—but I will not digress. . . .

Our second choice . . . was & I hope will always be (for I w'd if possible keep this gentleman firm & faithful in his country's cause & I think he will be so kept—for I know his value, as true a trout as ever swam, as staunch a hound as ever ran), Rich'd Henry Lee, Esq'r. This gentleman, I say, was ye 2d choice & he w'd have been my 2d choice. . . .

Ye 3d gentleman Col'o Washington, was bred a soldier—a warrior, & distinguished himself early in life before & at ye Death of ye unfortunate but intrepid Braddock. He is a modest man, but sensible & speaks little—action cool, like a Bishop at his prayers.

The 4th is a real half Quaker, Patrick Henry, your Brother's man—moderate & mild & in religious matters a Saint but ye very Devil in Politics. . . . He will shake ye Senate & some years ago had like to have talked Treason in ye House; in these times a very useful man, a notable American, very stern & steady in his country's cause & at ye same time such a fool that I verily believe it w'd puzzle even a king to buy him off. . . . Oh that he had the handling of some of our Courtiers—for instance, was it North or South, Scotch, English or Welsh . . . our Patrick w'd certainly be very uncivil—he is no Macaroni.

The 5th, Lieut. Col'o Bland, a very old experienced veteran at ye Senate or ye Bar—staunch & tough as whitleather—has something of ye look of musty old Parchen'ts w'ch he handleth & studieth much. He is also a great Cronologer alias a Conjuror. . . .

The 6th, Col'o Benjamin Harrison, your near Neighbor in Virg'a I need not describe to you. He is Brother in Law to our worthy Speaker. . . .

The 7th & last & best—but they are all good—& this gentleman, Mr. Pendleton, is ye last on ye List, I w'd willingly bring him in amongst

ye first shall be last & ye last first, as ye Scripture saith—he is likewise a humble, religious man & therefore of course must be exalted. He is also a very pretty, smoothtongued speaker, & I think tho' not so old may be well compared to old Nestor in Homer. . . .

“Experienced Nestor, in persuasion skill'd,
Words sweet as honey fr'm his lips distill'd.”

Much later Charles Francis Adams, writing in 1850, was able to point out the significance of this particular delegation in the light of history:

Virginia never, in any subsequent stage of her annals, brilliant with great names, shone more than now, when Washington and Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Peyton Randolph, Pendleton and Bland came to throw her great weight into the cause. Here was courage blended with prudence, age with youth, eloquence with wisdom, progress with enthusiasm.

2. THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

On August 31, 1774, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, and George Washington set out from Mount Vernon for the Congress in Philadelphia, the four other members of the delegation having preceded them. It is recorded that they completed the one-hundred-fifty-mile journey in four and a half days, traveling around thirty-five miles each day, one third of them before breakfast in the cool of the morning. John Adams led a group from Massachusetts in a more leisurely fashion, and furthermore kept a diary, in some respects a very good one. Stopping off in Princeton en route he became acquainted with a young lawyer named Jonathan Sergeant, whom he quoted as saying that “the Virginians speak in raptures about Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry, one the Cicero, the other the Demosthenes of the age.” It is pleasing to find Lee and Henry enjoying this fame prior to their appearance on the stage, nationwide in scope, to which they were going.

Adams' entry in his journal for September 2 gives his first impressions of the vanguard of the Virginia representation:

After coffee we went to the tavern, where we were introduced to Peyton Randolph, Esquire, Speaker of Virginia, Colonel Harrison, Richard Henry Lee, Esquire, and Colonel Bland. Randolph is a large,

well looking man; Lee is a tall, spare man; Bland is a learned, bookish man. These gentlemen from Virginia appear to be the most spirited and consistent of any.

The diary continues on September 3:

Breakfasted at Dr. Shippens: Dr. Witherspoon was there. Col. R. H. Lee lodges there; he is a masterly man. This Mr. Lee is a brother of the sheriff of London, and of Dr. Arthur Lee, and of Mrs. Shippen; they are all sensible and deep thinkers. Lee is for making the repeal of every revenue law,—the Boston Port Bill, the bill for altering the Massachusetts constitution, and the Quebec Bill, and the removal of all the troops, the end of Congress, and an abstinence from all dutied articles, the means,—rum, molasses, sugar, tea, wine, fruits, &c. He is absolutely certain that the same ship which carries home the resolution will bring back the redress. If we were to suppose that any time would intervene, he should be for exceptions. He thinks that we should inform his Majesty that we never can be happy, while the lords Bute, Mansfield, and North, are his confidants and counsellors. He took his pen and attempted a calculation of the numbers of people represented by the Congress, which he made about two million two hundred thousand; and of the revenue, now actually raised, which he made eighty thousand pounds sterling. He would not allow Lord North to have great abilities; he had seen no symptoms of them; his whole administration had been a blunder. He said the opposition had been so feeble and incompetent hitherto, that it was time to make vigorous exertions. . . . Mr. Lee thinks that to strike at the Navigation Acts would unite every man in Britain against us, because the kingdom could not exist without them, and the advantages they derive from these regulations and restrictions of our trade are an ample compensation for all the protection they have afforded us, or will afford us. . . . Spent the evening at Mr. Mifflin's with Lee and Harrison from Virginia, the two Rutledges, Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. Shippen, Dr. Steptoe, and another gentleman; an elegant supper, and we drank sentiments till eleven o'clock. Lee and Harrison were very high. Lee had dined with Mr. Dickinson and drank Burgundy the whole afternoon.

There we have evidence that Lee had a lighter side. The next day Washington arrived, and also became a guest at the Shippen home. On September 5 the Congress assembled, the credentials of the delegates were read, and Peyton Randolph was elected president. Lee

took his seat on the second day and, with Patrick Henry, made a speech. John Galloway, speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, gave his word, as did all the delegates, that the proceedings were to be held in strict confidence until publication was ordered. Since Galloway failed to keep his promise, plotted with two royal governors, and afterwards allied himself with the Tories, he could be regarded as the first traitor to his country.

Having chosen a Virginian as president the delegates got down to business and appointed committees to handle various matters. The first of these was charged with the duty of stating the rights of the colonies, the instances when these rights had been violated, and the means to be pursued in securing their restoration. Lee and Pendleton, and later Patrick Henry were selected as members from the Virginia delegation.

On the 17th of September a spirited set of resolutions from Suffolk County, Massachusetts, was laid before Congress. These resolves placed Massachusetts in a position of outright rebellion, for in Suffolk County was the city of Boston and in Boston was a British army, commanded by General Gage. No one could fail to be impressed with the preamble to these resolutions, which began:

Whereas the power but not the justice, the vengeance but not the wisdom of Great Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity . . .

It concluded with the comforting assurance that "posterity will acknowledge that virtue which preserved them free and happy." Richard Lee was so deeply affected that he instituted a motion urging the brethren to persevere in their firm and temperate conduct and recommending that the British nation introduce better men and wiser measures. These were his first words to be recorded in the *Journal of Congress*.

Ten days later it was unanimously voted that "from and after the first day of December next, there be no importation into British America from Great Britain or Ireland." This Non-Importation Agreement, signed by fifty-three of the delegates, contained a plank which bore the special stamp of Virginia:

We will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which we will wholly dis-

continue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

Soon after this Richard Henry Lee was heading a committee instructed to prepare "a loyal address to his Majesty," and, with Livingston and Jay, serving as chairman of another charged with the preparation of a memorial to the people of British America and an address to the people of Great Britain. When, in 1823, Lee's biographer wrote to John Jay concerning the authorship of these three great papers of the Congress of 1774, Mr. Jay replied that he himself had prepared the address to the British people and that Mr. Lee had written the memorial. Both men produced brilliant compositions, Jay bluntly telling the English people that "if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind . . . we must then tell you that we will never submit to be hewers of wood nor drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world." Lee reminded the colonists of certain grievances, adding that under pretense of governing them "so many new institutions, uniformly rigid and dangerous, have been introduced, as could only be expected from incensed masters, for collecting the tribute or rather the plunder, of conquered provinces." In the clarity and forcefulness of their arguments and the beauty and dignity of language, these compositions form a distinct contribution to the literary history of the Revolution.

3. THE SECOND CONGRESS

In St. John's Church, still standing today on one of Richmond's seven hills, the second Virginia Convention assembled on March 20, 1775. It voted approval of the acts of the First Continental Congress, thanked the Virginia delegates for their services, and re-elected them to the second congressional session.

During the first session in Philadelphia Richard Lee had displayed his boldness and foresight by offering a bill for organizing a militia, America being "able, willing, and under Providence determined to defend, protect, and secure itself." This was, of course, aimed at the revenue laws levied by the Crown as a means of supporting a civil government and maintaining a standing army in the colonies. A

majority of members had considered this resolution far too strong, and it had been toned down and subdued until all vigor was lost. So when the second Convention opened in Richmond, Lee and Henry determined to offer a similar recommendation to their fellow Virginians. Henry was to make the motion, allow his opponents to have their say, and then to answer them; Lee would follow up this initial discourse, with the purpose of convincing any who failed to respond to Henry's eloquence.

This occasioned vigorous opposition from some of the ablest men in the convention, who deemed the resolutions premature. Henry waited until they had subsided, and then fired his broadside, and concluded with his fervent appeal, "Give me Liberty or give me Death!" This speech led Virginia across the Rubicon and committed her to war at a time when others still hoped for reconciliation, but one month later the wisdom of Patrick Henry's course was confirmed by the events at Lexington, Massachusetts.

After Henry's fiery declamation Lee took up the argument, the main points of which he had used in Philadelphia: "Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us." He admitted that the country was in debt, had no money, no arms, no government. He agreed that Virginia, with her broad rivers, was exposed to attack. But he also expressed confidence, because God was with them and their cause was just, that they would ultimately win.

Patrick Henry's discourse, with its ringing ending, has become famous the world over, and has been the delight of schoolboy orators down through the years, while Richard Lee's is comparatively unknown. The curious thing is that William Wirt, in the biography of Henry which did much to immortalize the speech, seems to have appropriated most of Lee's words in fashioning Henry's address. This despite the fact that shortly before sending his manuscript to the printer in 1817 he had received a note from Chief Justice Marshall which even he thought too interesting to suppress. The note referred to accounts of the two speeches made to the Chief Justice by his father, who was a member of the Second Virginia Convention and was present on the occasion, and whose report would seem to establish the fact that Lee was the author of much that is now attributed to Henry. Other sources corroborate this, notably John Adams and

the *Journal* of the Convention;¹⁵ the only question seems to be just how much of Henry's supposed speech should actually be credited to Lee.

After the Richmond convention had re-elected their delegates to the second Congress, Lord Dunmore issued a proclamation requiring all civil officers to do their utmost to prevent the appointment of any such delegates, which amounted to closing the barn door after the horse had departed. This was done on orders from London, and was followed, on April 20, by his equally stupid act of having all the powder and guns from the magazine in Williamsburg taken to a British warship in the James River. This produced the wildest excitement all over Virginia, heightened by news of the Battle of Lexington and the defeat of forces intent on destruction of similar munitions at Concord. The *Williamsburg Gazette* got out an "extra," giving an account which concluded with these words: "The sword is now drawn, and God knows when it will be sheathed." Lord Dunmore was compelled to pay for the powder.

About this time this unfortunate representative of the Crown received orders from the British government to submit a proposition known as the Olive Branch, and on May 12, 1775, he issued a summons for a meeting of the Assembly, nicely timed to insure the absence in Philadelphia of Lee and Henry. The House of Burgesses convened on June 1, re-electing as speaker Peyton Randolph, who had resigned as president of Congress and given up his seat in that body in order to devote himself to the proceedings in Virginia. It is interesting to note how all the Virginians in Congress continued to keep one eye on Williamsburg and to regard the happenings in that city as of equal importance with those in Philadelphia. The burgesses approved the conduct of the late Indian war and they also provided the means for defraying its cost, which included a specific duty of five pounds on the head of every slave imported from the West Indies. This caused the royal governor to veto the bill. Hence it was that the last exercise of the royal veto power in Virginia was in protection of the slave trade. Early on the morning of June 8 Lord Dunmore and his family withdrew from the palace at Williamsburg to a British man-of-war in the river. With his departure went the last vestige of royal sovereignty in Virginia.

Meanwhile, the second Continental Congress had opened in Phil-

Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. Washington's diary records that Richard Henry Lee had been his guest at Mount Vernon the night of May 3, and that they had left for Philadelphia the next day, arriving on the evening of May 9.

The *Journal* for this session presents an array of depositions from persons who were present, either as spectators or combatants, at the so-called battles of Lexington and Concord. All voiced a strangely similar song: the British were the first to fire, they had provoked the encounter, and they had plundered and burned—a strange way to act in time of peace. But on May 18 this same Congress listened to pleasant news from the north, for Ticonderoga had been captured by Ethan Allen “in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.” Congress then passed a really clever resolution, requiring that a careful inventory be made of all cannon, powder, and other supplies surrendered with the post, in order that the same might be restored to Great Britain when harmony should make it possible to do so. New England might be aggressive, but Congress chose to be prudent.

Thomas Jefferson took Peyton Randolph's seat in Congress on June 21 and John Hancock succeeded Randolph as president. The chief event of the session was the selection of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

Tracing Richard Henry Lee's part in the deliberations of this second Congress, and omitting dates and dry details, we find him on committees charged with many duties: establishing a post for conveying letters; answering a letter from the Massachusetts Convention; drawing up another address to the people of Great Britain; devising a means of manufacturing saltpeter; drafting the commission and instructions for General Washington and his generals (the original draft of Washington's commission, in Lee's handwriting, was found among his papers); working out a plan for protecting the trade of the colonies; and sending the thanks of America to the Lord Mayor of London for his “virtuous opposition to the ministry.” The remonstrance had been written by Arthur Lee in London; the thanks of the American Congress was from the pen of Richard Henry Lee.

The address to the British people, also written by Richard Lee, was adopted on the 8th of July, a monument to his genius and ability to write the language of Shakespeare and a fitting farewell to our kinsmen across the sea. A few lines will serve to display the style:

We never will, while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our seacoasts; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardor of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want; the luxury of being free. . . . On the sword, therefore, we are compelled to rely for protection. Should victory declare in your favor, yet men trained to arms from their infancy, and animated by the love of liberty, will afford neither a cheap nor easy conquest. Of this at least we are assured, that our struggle will be glorious, our success certain; since even in death we shall find that freedom which in life you forbid us to enjoy.

Congress adjourned on the first of August in order to allow the Virginia delegates to attend their own convention, which, on August 11, selected their delegates to the next Congress. Those named, and the votes cast for each, are shown below:

Peyton Randolph, 89	Benjamin Harrison, 83
Richard Henry Lee, 88	Thomas Nelson, 66
Thomas Jefferson, 85	Richard Bland, 61
George Wythe, 58	

Richard Bland begged leave to decline the honor on account of his age, and the convention turned to George Mason, who was pressed to accept the office, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson in particular urging it upon him. Mason declined because of family complications and nominated Francis Lightfoot Lee, who was elected over Carter Braxton, 37 to 36.

Congress reopened in Philadelphia on September 5, and on the death of Peyton Randolph the next month, leadership of the Virginia delegation was assumed by Richard Henry Lee. Randolph's remains were returned to Virginia and placed in a vault in the chapel of William and Mary College and every possible honor was shown his memory.

Lee was placed on the Naval Committee, which gave birth to the American Navy, and this was followed in November by his appointment to the committee which established the Marine Corps. He was also chairman of a group preparing an answer to another ministerial

proclamation. On November 29, news of the capture of Montreal was received, seventeen days after that event. The last appearances of Lee's name in the *Journal* of the Congress for that year were for December 16 and 21. It seems probable that he had left the city prior to the latter date in order to spend Christmas at home with his family.

The end of December saw the failure of the attack on Quebec, the shelling and burning of Norfolk by Lord Dunmore's fleet, and the imminent arrival of the Hessian mercenaries. On or about March 18, 1776, Washington, with five thousand men, entered Boston by way of Dorchester Heights, which British engineers had overlooked, and in one night made it secure. Lord Howe and his army departed, and with them went eleven hundred Loyalists, "a properous and enjoying set . . . and very indulgent to their negro slaves."¹⁶

In the meantime, the House of Burgesses had convened in Williamsburg in the fall of 1775, but since only thirty-seven members had appeared it was adjourned until the following March; with only thirty-two present at this time, it was again adjourned, to reconvene on May 6, but neither proceeded to business nor adjourned at that date. In effect, it had ceased to exist. Thus was royal government in Virginia brought to its close.

4. INDEPENDENCE

To the great Virginia Convention of 1776, held in Williamsburg, came as remarkable a group of men as that community has ever known; they came with a spirit that is well illustrated by the instructions drafted in Cumberland County by Carter Henry Harrison:

We, therefore, your constituents, instruct you to declare for an independency; that you solemnly abjure any allegiance for his Britannick majesty and bid him goodnight forever, that you promote in our convention an instruction to our delegates now sitting in continental congress to do the same.

The Convention assembled on May 6 and named Edmund Pendleton president, Thomas Ludwell Lee contesting with him for the honor. Nine days later the resolution was passed which gave Virginia the distinction of being the first to declare for independence: her delegates to Congress were instructed to propose that the united colonies be proclaimed free and independent states. A second resolu-

tion provided for a bill of rights and a plan of government for Virginia, the first written constitution of a free state.

Prior to this Richard Henry Lee had written a letter to Patrick Henry, dated in Philadelphia April 20. To it we invite your attention, for it marks a new chapter in American history.

Ages yet unborn, and millions existing at present, must rue or bless that Assembly, on which their happiness or misery will so eminently depend. Virginia had hitherto taken the lead in great affairs, and many now look to her with anxious expectation, hoping that the spirit, wisdom, and energy of her councils, will rouse America from the fatal lethargy into which the feebleness, folly, and interested views of the Proprietary governments, with the aid of Tory machinations, have thrown her most unhappily. The 12 years of experience we have had of the perfidy and despotic intentions of the British Court is still further demonstrated by the King's speech, by the express declaration of every Ministerial Man on both houses of Parliament, by their infamous retrospective robbery Act, and by the intercepted letter from the Secretary of State, to Governor Eden. All join in proving the design of the British Court to subdue at every event, and to enslave America after having destroyed its Best Members. The act of Parliament has to every legal intent and purpose dissolved our government, uncommissioned every magistrate, and placed us in the high road to Anarchy. In Virginia we certainly have no Magistrate lawfully qualified to hang a murderer, or any other villain offending ever so atrociously against the state. We cannot be Rebels excluded from the King's protection and Magistrates acting under his authority at the same time. This proves the indispensable necessity of our taking up government immediately, for the preservation of Society, to effect the purpose of applying with vigor the strength of the country to its present critical state; and above all to set an example which N. Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and N. York will most assuredly, in my opinion, follow: and which will effectually remove the baneful influence of Proprietary interests from the councils of America. When this is done, give peremptory instructions to your Delegates to take every effectual step to secure America from the despotic aims of the British Court by Treaties of alliance with foreign States. . . . This I take to be the time and thing meant by Shakespeare when he says,

“There is a Tide in the Affairs of Men,
Which taken at the Flood leads on to Fortune—
That omitted, we are ever after bound in Shallows.”

Let us therefore, quitting every other consideration, heartily unite in leading our countrymen to embrace the present flowing tide, which promises fair to waft us into the harbor of safety, happiness, liberty and virtue. . . .

There you have Lee's message to the outstanding leader in the Virginia Convention, a man who must be numbered among his best friends. It is a message so carefully composed as to suggest the outline of a speech. Patrick Henry's reply, dated in Williamsburg on May 20, is as fine a tribute as one man could pay another, as Virginia had by then taken the step for independence.

Ere this reaches you our resolution for separating from Britain will be handed you by Colonel Nelson. Your sentiments as to the necessary progress of the great affair correspond with mine. . . . I wish to divide you, and have you here, to animate by your manly eloquence the sometimes drooping spirits of our country, and in Congress, to be the ornament of your native Country, and the vigilant determined foe of Tyranny. To give you colleagues of kindred sentiments is my wish.

Shortly before the arrival of this plea for his attendance at the Virginia Convention Lee had received a letter from George Mason which must have influenced him greatly:

We are now going upon the most important of all subjects,—government! The committee appointed to prepare a plan is, according to custom, over charged with useless members. You know our convention . . . I need not tell you how much you will be wanted here in this occasion. I speak with the sincerity of a friend, when I assure you that, in my opinion, your presence cannot, must not, be dispensed with. We cannot do without you. Mr. Nelson is now on his way to Philadelphia, and will supply your place in Congress, by keeping up the representation of this colony. . . . At all events, my dear Sir, let us see you here as soon as possible. All your friends anxiously expect you, and none more than your affectionate friend and servant,

G. Mason.

P.S. You know what business is now before Congress, and in what forwardness, as well as how your colleagues stand affected as to capital points, will be best able to judge whether at this crisis, you can do most service there or here, and I am sure you will act accordingly.

On the same day Augustine Washington and Thomas Ludwell Lee also wrote to urge Richard Henry's presence in Williamsburg. And prior to these importunate messages John Page of Rosewell, later governor of Virginia, had sent this fervent appeal: "I would to God you could be here at the next convention."

Richard Lee must have given a great deal of thought as to where his services would count for most at this critical period. By the time Patrick Henry's letter arrived on June 3, his mind was made up. He decided to return to Williamsburg to take part in the proceedings of his "native country," Virginia, in this time of crisis, but before leaving Philadelphia he performed the act which qualifies him for everlasting remembrance. He "spoke an Empire into birth" when, on the 7th of June, 1776, he arose in Congress and moved

That these United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved (Plate XXV).

The question immediately arises as to why Richard Henry Lee, himself the proposer of independence, was not named to the committee appointed to draw up the Declaration of Independence. Because of a series of postponements this committee was not selected until June 11, and two days later Lee left for Williamsburg, having undoubtedly signified his intention of doing so some days in advance.¹⁷ His resolution was adopted July 2, and the Declaration, prepared for the most part by Thomas Jefferson, two days later on July 4.

Lee arrived in Williamsburg toward the latter part of June and remained there until the Convention adjourned on July 5, when he went home to Chantilly. Even in that comparatively remote place he had no real respite from politics and war, for the British were in the Potomac, and in July he was writing of an experience destined to be repeated:

The enemy of everything good, has at length turned his wicked footsteps to this river, on the north side of which, we can everyday see the smoke occasioned by his conflagration. We learn that the people of Maryland are not quiet spectators of his proceedings but that they have attacked and killed some of his people, and obliged the whole fleet to move its station. They are continually blasting

away at each other. Last night I was engaged with a party of Militia expecting a visit from four of the enemies Ships and 3 Tenders that appeared off this house about sunset. They are gone up the river, upon what errand I know not, unless . . . to burn Alexandria.

From the day he moved for independence Lee became a marked man; he joined that select group of gentlemen, including Adams, Henry, and Washington, whom the King of England would like to see. They also became the objects of Tory machinations. On the very day that Lee was offering his resolutions to Congress, Dickinson in the Assembly of Pennsylvania was pledging his word that he and a majority of the delegates would continue to vote *against* independence.

His persistent opposition left the principle of independence in Pennsylvania to be established by a political party, springing spontaneously from the ranks of the people, struggling against an active social influence, a numerous religious organization [the Quakers], and the traditional governing classes, and rending society by angry and long enduring discord.¹⁸

As this story has progressed it has become clear that to Virginia and New England this country owes her independence. Had the adoption of a Declaration of Independence been delayed, as the other states desired, opportunity might never have knocked again. Lee, responding to the earnest solicitations of some of the greatest Virginians, hastened home in order to share in the fabrications of the new Commonwealth and to be with his Virginia countrymen when he had reason to believe they needed him most.

The Declaration of Independence was an accomplished fact, and the adoption of it consummated the great work Virginia had begun. Her fearlessness was hailed with joy throughout America and glowing tributes were paid to her patriotism in the private correspondence and public journals of the day. On July 8 Thomas Jefferson addressed a letter to Richard Henry Lee and enclosed a draft of the document¹⁹ for his perusal and criticism:

Dear Sir:—For news, I refer you to your brother, who writes on that head. I enclose you a copy of the Declaration of Independence, as agreed to by the House, and also originally framed. You will judge whether it is the better or worse for the critics. I shall return

to Virginia after the 11th of August. I wish my successor may be certain to come before that time: in that case I shall hope to see you, and not Wythe, in Convention, that the business of Government, which is of everlasting concern, may receive your aid. Adieu, and believe me to be your friend and servant.

Lee's reply is dated the 21st:

I thank you for your favor and its enclosures by this post, and I wish sincerely, as well for the honor of Congress, as for that of the States, that the Manuscript had not been mangled as it is. It is wonderful, and passing pitiful, that the rage for change should be so unhappily applied. . . . However the Thing is in its nature so good, that no Cookery can spoil the Dish for the palates of Freemen. . . . Our friend Mr. Wythe purposes to me by letter that I meet him at Hooes ferry on the 3rd of September, and I have agreed to do so, unless some pressing call takes me to Congress sooner. Can you have patience so long? It will always make me happy to hear from you because I am sincerely your affectionate friend.

Jefferson's words cannot be regarded as complimentary to his old friend Mr. Wythe, who happened to be the head of the Virginia delegation and by no means the least able of its members. Jefferson was in a hurry to return home; one year of the turmoil of Congress was sufficient, and that body saw him no more until after the war was ended. On July 29 he himself provided the "pressing call" for Lee's return to Congress, by a most urgent letter written to him on that date, and Lee, forsaking the engagement with Wythe at Hooes Ferry, wrote to Patrick Henry from Bellview at the end of August:

I am thus far on my way to Congress, having been sometime detained by the slowness of the Workman that made my Carriage wheels, the old being quite shattered and useless.

Chapter III

THE STATESMAN

I. POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES

RICHARD HENRY LEE returned to Congress about August 26, 1776, to find the legislature endeavoring to promote a treaty with France. He was immediately placed on the committee in charge of this matter, and late in September was able to write to Jefferson:

The Plan of foreign treaty is just finished, and yourself, with Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Deane now in France, are the Trustees to execute this all important business. The great abilities and unshaken virtue, necessary for the execution of what the safety of America does so capitally rest upon, have directed the Congress in their choice: and the ambition may have no influence in this case, yet that distinguished love for your country that has marked your life, will determine you here. In my judgement, the most eminent services that the greatest of her sons can do America, will not more essentially serve her and honor themselves, than a successful negotiation with France. I am, with singular esteem, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and obedient servant.

This plea failing to have the desired effect Lee then exhibited his ability to speak in a frank and candid fashion:

As I have received no answer to the letter I wrote you by the express from Congress, I conclude it has miscarried. I heard with much regret that you had declined both the voyage, and your seat in Congress. No man feels more deeply than I do, the love of, and loss of, private enjoyments; but let attention to these be universal, and we are gone, beyond redemption lost in the deep perdition of slavery.

He was voicing the convictions which animated all the Lees, devotion to which was to keep him in public office, despite the sacrifices entailed, until very nearly the close of his life. In October he was

added to the Committee on Secret Correspondence, a highly important group, and other appointments followed.

In the meantime, the British army was pushing the Continental forces across New Jersey until, by December, Howe's outposts were eighteen miles from Independence Hall. On the 12th, Congress adjourned to Baltimore, where it remained until the following February. The fortunes of America were at a low ebb, the "times that tried men's souls" had come, and even Washington confessed to his younger brother that "the game is nearly up."

In this dark hour, when Congress was hastening toward Baltimore, two events occurred which contributed to the ultimate success of the colonials. Sir William Howe brought his triumphant advance to a halt when there was actually no force in America capable of opposing him; he left his army strung out in a line of posts from Burlington and Trenton on the Delaware, through Princeton and New Brunswick to Perth Amboy; he placed his German mercenaries on his exposed flank, and returned to the comforts of New York. All this, strangely enough, was the work of a British general of considerable experience, who commanded the advance when Wolfe captured Quebec, was adjutant of the force that took Havana, and was in the thickest of the Battle of Bunker Hill. At the same time General Charles Lee (no relation to the Virginia Lees), in command of some of the best regiments of the Continental Army, sat on the east shore of the Hudson and ignored the urgent orders of Washington to march to his assistance. When finally he did start, he moved at the rate of but eight miles a day; finding that this might bring him to the Delaware before Washington's forces were destroyed, he slackened his pace to three miles a day! His capture by the British was the second piece of good fortune attending the American cause.

Washington made his memorable crossing of the Delaware on Christmas night, 1776, and the next morning the Third Virginia Regiment charged into Trenton and struck the Hessian flank. The mercenaries had been celebrating Christmas in true Teutonic fashion and many of them were very drunk; the attack was a complete surprise and soon it was all over. On December 30 Washington took up a strong position along the south side of Assunpink Creek. The recent success of the Battle of Trenton acted like magic, and militia poured into camp. When My Lord Cornwallis came boiling down the road

from New York with eight thousand veterans Washington delayed him with skirmishes between Princeton and Trenton and then proceeded to teach him a lesson he never forgot. As night came on there were evidences of the most energetic preparations for defense in the American camp. Huge fires glowed, entrenchments were dug, and demonstrations went on until dawn. But at one o'clock in the morning Washington withdrew his army, marched *across* the British front, and struck the main road about two miles south of Princeton. Here he ran unexpectedly into a British regiment, and heavy fighting ensued, in which his forces were successful. Another regiment was encountered at Princeton, and much of it was captured. As the vanguard of Cornwallis appeared, Washington retired to Morristown, from whence, due to the strength of his position, there was no hope of dislodging him. Not only were the British held in check, but Washington, by his audacity at Trenton and Princeton, turned the tide of popular feeling. He struck fear into the hearts of his military opponents, raised the flagging spirits of his countrymen, and gave encouragement to the friends of America abroad.

This same year seems to have marked the start of Richard Henry Lee's political troubles. On the 3d of November, 1776, he brought these distressing developments to the attention of Thomas Jefferson, his good friend:

I have been informed that very malignant and very scandalous hints and innuendos concerning me have been uttered in the house. From the justice of the House I should expect they would not suffer the character of an absent person (and one in their service) to be reviled by any slanderous tongue whatever. When I am present, I shall be perfectly satisfied with the justice I am able to do myself. From your candour, Sir, and knowledge of my political movements, I hope such mistatings as may happen in your presence will be rectified.

A heavier blow was soon to fall. When, in the spring of 1777, the Virginia Assembly elected their delegates to Congress for the next term beginning in August, those chosen were Harrison, Mason, Jones, Harvie, and Francis Lightfoot Lee—Richard Henry Lee was discarded. This news apparently reached him in Philadelphia about May 26, for on that date he addressed himself in righteous indignation to John Page:

I observe in the Gazette, your call upon our Countrymen to apply some of their attention to the business of philosophy . . . If this had been better learned, such an industrious attempt to injure my reputation in the opinion of my Countrymen would not have taken place. It has been a wicked industry, the most false, and the most malicious that the deceitful heart of Man ever produced. I am not on my own account affected with this malice of my enemies, because I have long panted for retirement from the most distressing pressure of business that I ever had conception of. But my principal concern arises from the dreadful example my case presents to cool the ardor of patriotism, and prevent the sacrifice of private ease to public service. I ought at least to have been heard in my defense.

Such concerted attempts at what Lee regarded as deliberate defamation of character obviously stemmed from some basis, even though untrue. In a long letter of the same date written to Patrick Henry he takes up the charges which had been brought against him: he had induced his Fauquier tenants to pay their rents in produce, thereby aiding in debasing the paper currency issued to carry on the war; he favored New England to the injury of Virginia; he had opposed laying before Congress the proceedings of the Secret Committee, of which he was a member, and this had been construed by some as an attempt on his part to conceal the embezzlement of funds.

In answering the first and third charges Lee pointed out that he had made the agreement with his tenants before the paper money existed, at a time when they were unable to sell their produce; as to the last charge, it was well known to everyone that he had nothing to do with commercial affairs. He refuted the claim of favoritism to New England by reminding his accusers that both the enemies and the friends of America knew that only through disunion could it be conquered, and that the former had endeavored "with unremitting art" to fix discord between the Southern and Eastern colonies.

The guilt of New England is that of a fixed determination against British Tyranny, and such I believe is the crime of Virginia in the eye of their common enemies. Most of the rest have entitled themselves to some hopes of pardon from the Tyrant, by weak, dividing, irresolute and pernicious conduct. One thing is certain, that among the Middle & Southern States, Virginia has many enemies arising from Jealousy and envy of her wisdom, vigor, and extent of Territory. But I have ever discovered, upon every question, respect and

love for Virginia among the Eastern Delegates. Folly and ingratitude would have marked the Representatives of Virginia had they shewn disesteem for the latter and attachment to the former.

In conclusion he wrote:

I have served my country, Sir, to the best of my knowledge and with fidelity & industry, to the injury of my health and fortune, and a sequestration from domestic happiness. I shall rejoice to find that others are employed who will do the business better than I have done, and I shall be ever happy in the reflection, that those Malignants who would represent me as an enemy to my Country cannot make me so.

He then proceeded to show his mettle, and to act quickly. On June 5 he secured leave of absence from Congress, "his health and private affairs requiring his return to Virginia," as it is recorded in the *Journal*. He left Philadelphia on the 15th, reached Williamsburg on the 20th, took his seat in the House of Delegates of the Virginia Assembly, and demanded an investigation of the unjust and unwarranted accusations which had been leveled against him.

The only firsthand information relating to this matter comes to us in a letter from Colonel John Banister of Petersburg to his brother-in-law, Colonel Theodoric Bland. Its importance is due to the fact that Banister had heard Lee defend himself and was impressed with his honesty. It was dated June 10, 1777, but was finished after the 21st:

You have no doubt heard of Mr. R. H. Lee's having been superseded in his appointment to congress. This measure was adopted in an early part of the session, in his absence, which (though I am not very fond of that gentleman) I condemned as a most flagrant act of injustice, and as a precedent dangerous in its nature, and might (if not guarded against in time) be carried to lengths the most unwarrantable, and in the end be destructive of every principle of rectitude and impartiality in the trial of offences.

After recounting the charge growing out of the Fauquier rentals, Banister continues:

The inference drawn from these charges was, that Mr. Lee, being in an eminent station, and one of the first guardians and trustees of the rights of America, charged with the affairs of the United States, and thereby bound to promote their interest in every respect, had, in violation of the trust reposed in him, depreciated

the paper emissions of the states, and therefore ought not to be further entrusted with the high office he had been appointed to. This being the state of what was imputed to him as a criminal, I leave you to form your own opinion of his conduct, and to determine whether the assembly were right in his amotion from office. But if they were right in that, what will you say to their consistency and uniformity of opinion, when I tell you, that the very body of men who but a few days before had disgraced [him], have returned him the thanks of their house? Certainly no defence was ever made with more graceful eloquence, more manly firmness, equalness of temper, serenity, calmness and judgement, than this very accomplished speaker displayed on this occasion, and I am now of opinion he will be re-elected to his former station, instead of Mr. George Mason, who has resigned.

Richard Lee was formally exonerated, and in delivering the resolution of the House, George Wythe, the Speaker, is said to have shed tears while addressing him as follows:

Sir: It is with peculiar pleasure that I obey this command of the House, because it gives me an opportunity, whilst I am performing an act of duty to them, to perform an act of justice to yourself. Serving with you in Congress, and attentively observing your conduct there, I thought that you manifested in the American cause a zeal truly patriotic; and, as far as I could judge, exerted the abilities for which you are confessedly distinguished, to promote the good and prosperity of your own country [he was speaking of Virginia] in particular, and of the United States in general. That the tribute of praise deserved may reward those who do well, and encourage others to follow your example, the House have come to this resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of this House be given by the Speaker, to Richard Henry Lee, Esq., for the faithful services he has rendered his country, in discharge of his duty, as one of the delegation from this state in general Congress.

To which Mr. Lee answered:

Mr. Speaker: I thank the House for this instance of candour and justice, which I accept the more willingly, as my conscience informs me, it was not undeserved. I consider the approbation of my country, sir, the highest reward for faithful services, and it shall be my constant call, to merit that approbation, by a diligent attention to public duty.

My thanks are particularly due to you, sir, for the obliging manner

in which you have been pleased to signify the vote of the House, and I pray you sir, to receive my grateful acknowledgements accordingly.

On June 25 Lee was re-elected to Congress and after a month's rest at Chantilly took his seat at the beginning of August, just in time to witness the parade of Washington and his army on the way to meet Sir William Howe on the banks of the Brandywine. Congress withdrew to Lancaster on September 18, and later on to York, this time behaving with coolness and self-possession in the face of an alarming crisis; the British army entered Philadelphia on the 26th, where it was to prove an expensive and exacting guest. The Battle of the Brandywine, an example of British generalship at its best, was followed by the Battle of Germantown, where fate denied the Americans a distinct victory; then on the 17th of October came the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga.²⁰

Lee secured another leave of absence from Congress in November, but before departing he offered the resolution for the recall of Silas Deane. This was the man who had first suggested that Washington be superseded in command by some foreign general—the man who lived in a grossly extravagant manner at the expense of his impoverished country and squandered her resources while supposedly representing her interests abroad.

It is of more than ordinary interest that in a letter to his sister, Hannah Corbin, written at this period, Richard Lee expressed himself as favoring woman suffrage; moreover, Hannah was demanding the right!

He departed from York on December 6. It had been a trying year, which had seen him unjustly accused in his absence, repudiated by the very men he had most conscientiously sought to serve, and finally, after the most dignified and eloquent defense in his own behalf, exonerated of all charges, publicly thanked for his services, and returned to Congress. In addition to the strain caused by these events, his eyes were giving him trouble, and there are statements in his letters which indicate that he was physically exhausted.

2. PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

At the beginning of the New Year, 1778, Patrick Henry desired Lee's presence in Williamsburg and he was there about ten days. His

brother Thomas Ludwell's death in April delayed his return to York until the first of May, when he took his seat. The next month the British evacuated Philadelphia, Congress returned to that city, M. Gerard, the French minister, arrived, and Lee and Samuel Adams were appointed to conduct him to an audience. The Virginia Assembly again selected their delegates to the next session of Congress, Lee standing sixth in the list of seven; once more it would appear that there were enemies at home. He left Philadelphia for his home in November, paid his usual visit to the Assembly at Williamsburg, and reached Chantilly on Christmas Day. Silas Deane was back in America and busy with accusations but evasive with explanations. Lee had gout in his foot, rheumatism in his arm, and little or no money.

It was the winter of an impotent Congress. En route there after his vacation in Virginia, Lee stopped off at Bellview on the 10th of February, 1779, and passed the next two nights at Freestone, the Leesylvania home of Colonel Henry Lee and his wife, Lucy Grymes. We can imagine the pride of the old colonel as he spoke of the military feats of his eldest son, Light Horse Harry Lee, and of the gold medal Congress had bestowed on him for the exploit at Paulus Hook. By the time Lee arrived in Philadelphia he was ready to report that the roads were the worst he had ever traveled. He took his seat on February 20, found a place on the Marine Committee, and went to work. As was often the case at this time, Virginia had more delegates in Congress than any other state, a number equal to the combined delegations of Delaware, Maryland, and North and South Carolina.

While at Leesylvania he had written his brother, Arthur, of his intention to submit his resignation to the Assembly in April and to retire from Congress. He gives his reasons in another letter, this one to Jefferson:

I hope that when you and my other friends consider all things, that you will not blame me for sending my resignation to the Assembly. I am really injured in my health by such continued, close application; and a long neglected numerous family demands some attention. Add to these, that persecuted as I have been by the united voice of toryism, peculation, faction, envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, nothing but the certain prospect of doing essential service to my country can compensate for the injuries I receive.

He informed Mr. Jefferson that the annual rental from his fine estate in Fauquier would not purchase twenty barrels of corn, yet,

near as he and his large family were to ruin, he still showed no lack of faith in the cause of independence. Knowing his convictions in regard to the duty of public service, it is obvious that only his exhaustion and failing health could induce him to withdraw. He did so about May 24, 1778, but his career was by no means over. He continued to sit in the Assembly, and but a few years later he was back in Congress, this time as President.

So far as we know, he remained at Chantilly all the summer of 1779, where, in August, another son was born. This child was given the name Cassius, his father fondly remarking that he looked as though he would be no lover of tyrants. An occasional visit was made to Menokin to see Frank Lee, and an extensive correspondence was carried on with many of the notables, among them Jefferson, George Mason, Samuel Adams, and Henry Laurens of South Carolina, destined later to reside for a time in the Tower of London. Raiders were plundering in the Chesapeake and Lee was endeavoring to secure assistance from the Marine Committee, of which Adams was a member. In December he went "up the country," probably to Fauquier to see his troublesome tenants. He was County Lieutenant of Westmoreland during this time, an office he had held since the death of his brother, Philip, in 1775, and for the next three years he was very active with the militia.

Lee's correspondence during these years, 1780-83, illuminates his personal as well as his public life. From it we learn that he was suffering from the gout in January of 1780 when he wrote Samuel Adams of his intention to re-enter the Assembly in the spring. He also addressed letters to Jonathan Trumbull and Roger Sherman, enclosing Arthur Lee's report to Congress in reply to Deane's accusations. This was carrying the war into the enemy's country. By July he was back home, "very much indisposed by a severe cold and fever." Writing to Arthur Lee that same summer, he informed this brother where his support in America had been, stating that "most of the Eastern Delegates were your friends," meaning those from New England. Samuel Adams never received a finer tribute than is contained in this letter.

Richard Henry Lee returned to Richmond in October for a long stay, and left that city on the 3d of January following, when the enemy's ships were at Jamestown and much trouble was in store for Virginia. He was hastening to meet Arthur Lee, whom he had not seen for fifteen years, and to welcome his own son, Thomas, returning

in the company of this uncle, after eight years abroad. In March (this was now 1781) the Assembly met; Virginia ceded the Northwest Territory to the United States, and the confederation of the thirteen colonies was assured.

Journeying from Richmond to Williamsburg, Lee conferred with Baron Steuben on the military situation, reporting the results by letter to Governor Jefferson. He must have hastened home, for he took part in the Battle of Stratford Landing on April 19th, when, under a heavy cannonade from three vessels, a British force was landed and was opposed by Westmoreland militia under Lee's command, and subsequently driven off. Lee was himself injured when his horse fell on his leg. In May, because of the presence of the enemy in the Potomac, he removed his family to Epping Forest, the old Ball estate in Lancaster, and there they refuged all summer.

On June 12 Lee wrote to Washington, laying the critical situation of Virginia before him. This proves that he was at Chantilly and not Charlottesville when Tarleton scattered the Legislature in session there, causing them to disperse in great confusion, and Governor Jefferson to resign while "on the run." It was a wild summer. "We and our property here are now within the power of the enemy," Lee went on to say in his message to Washington. He was untiring in his efforts to arm the militia, but Virginia had exhausted herself in aiding her sister states. However, the tide was slowly turning, and Cornwallis was eventually penned up and captured. When the Westmoreland militia marched to Gloucester to assist, Lee was left at home with the gout.

Guerrilla warfare continued along the Potomac, and the next few letters relate to the efforts to exterminate these pirates. The last of Lee's children was born in June of 1782 and given the name Francis Lightfoot. Arthur Lee was a delegate to Congress and Light Horse Harry Lee had courted and won the hand of his cousin, Matilda Lee of Stratford.

A year later Richard Lee was again attending the Virginia Assembly and making caustic remarks about the climate of Richmond: "The noxious water and air of this filthy place have deprived me of health for several days past." Some correspondence with his old friend, General Whipple of New Hampshire, furnishes some humorous details. The General sent a keg of fish to Chantilly, which greatly pleased Mr. Lee, who thereupon wrote and asked him to visit, mentioning

in the same letter that he had nine children. The General never did pay him the visit, but he promptly sent more fish!

Richard Henry's son Ludwell was now settled in Williamsburg, studying law under the gifted George Wythe; his kinsman, Thomas Sim Lee of Maryland, was in Congress, which was meeting at Princeton, having been run out of Philadelphia by an army of "bonus marchers." In November it met at Annapolis, and it was at this session that Washington resigned his commission.

During the winter of 1783-84 James Monroe wrote to Mr. Lee from Congress, evidently asking his advice on certain political matters. Lee goes on record as being averse to a standing army but favoring a navy, and attacks slavery as "productive of the greatest human evils." He had been ill during that winter, and in June his condition made it necessary for him to leave the Assembly. Yet in the fall, despite his failing health, he was returned to Congress, and on November 30, 1784, was elected its president. This was the highest office in the government, under the old confederation, and his election to it a fitting if somewhat tardy recognition of his many years of service. Congress was then sitting at Trenton, though it was soon to move to New York. After eighteen days of waiting for a quorum, the delegates of but five states had appeared, all Southerners.

Being President of Congress called for a certain amount of dignity and form, which occasioned some amusing incidents and comments. Difficulty was encountered in securing a pair of black silk knee breeches suitable for an elderly gentleman. The Shippen family vetoed both the color and the material, and much correspondence ensued. The old patriot insisted he must have black, but agreed that "any black material that is neat, genteel, and warm and durable will suit me—Must I add fashionable—Let this last be as shall be thought proper in Council." Two months passed before the indispensable garment appeared.

1785 found Mr. Lee in New York, where he had taken an "elegant" house in order to live up to his "situation." There was excellent wine in New York, and good Spanish cigars ruined one's taste for all other smoking. The gentlemen of the Shippen family came over at once. Mr. Lee wrote the mayor of New York a letter, complaining that the deliberations of Congress were interrupted by the noise of carriages passing in the street. An eighteenth-century traffic problem! His

poor health continued to give him trouble, and that summer he went down to Philadelphia to recuperate.

In October he was writing on episcopal matters, giving us a glimpse into his churchmanship. There is a sermon in his laconic words:

It is with infinite pleasure that I learn that our church convention of Philadelphia have concluded their business with great accord, the surest pledge of future success of their system. It was a circumstance of much advantage that their council were not disturbed by the mischievous high-church principles that prevail with the non-juring Episcopalians of these Northern regions, who, with Bishop Seabury at their head would have been very sufficient to disturb the Moderate Councils of any Whig Assembly in the world.

A few days later he wrote to John Adams, then Minister to Great Britain, asking him to use his best endeavors to promote the consecration of American bishops. For these efforts these gentlemen received the thanks of a later General Convention of the Church, in a session held June 20-26, 1786.²¹

Ahead of his time in his grasp of international relations as in domestic affairs, Lee envisioned a future League of Nations when, in a letter to Lafayette in October, 1785, he asked: "Among the many leagues that are formed, why may not one be made for the purpose of protecting the rights of humanity?"

3. SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

The year 1786 seems to have been a more or less uneventful one as far as Lee's public activities are concerned. Mention is made of his agreement to convey two acres of land in Warrenton to the Warrenton Academy, which he described as a "seminary of learning." Light Horse Harry Lee was in Congress, carrying on the family tradition of public service.

In 1787 Richard Henry Lee was chosen as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. He declined this honor, giving the state of his health as the reason; later on he declared he believed it improper for a member of Congress to take part in drawing up a document which was to be submitted to that Congress for approval. Nevertheless he wrote a long letter to his friend George Mason on May 15, expressing the pleasure it gave him to learn that he and Washington had attended the convention, and went on to make a

careful analysis of the defects in the Articles of Confederation, by which the country was then governed. Turning to the plan for commercial regulations he called attention to the "thousand artful modes" by which a monopoly "to the extreme oppression of the staple states," as he called the South, might be set up. Prophetic words!

On the way to Congress in June he stopped off as usual at Bellview, and spent a week in Philadelphia. On September 28, 1787, Congress received the Constitution from the Convention, and ordered the document to be transmitted to the state legislatures, for submission to conventions elected for the express purpose of considering it. The battle over ratification had begun.

Mr. Lee returned to Virginia in November and evidently remained at Chantilly throughout the following year. "The common badness of the weather" hindered correspondence, but with the coming of spring the letter-writing season began. On May 1 we find messages directed to Mason, Pendleton, and General John Lamb of New York, all devoted to the question of ratification of the Constitution. George Mason and Edmund Randolph refused to sign the document as it was finally drawn, the former to his everlasting credit holding out against the toleration of the slave trade. Patrick Henry, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Henry Lee also opposed ratification, as did Grayson, Tyler, and Bland, while Light Horse Harry Lee fought with equal zeal for the Constitution, as did Washington and Madison. In the struggle over this issue the methods employed in Pennsylvania, or rather in Philadelphia, by the privileged class were disgraceful in the extreme; the Constitution of the United States was ratified by the vote of a convention selected by less than 10 per cent of the qualified voters of that state. In Massachusetts care was taken to avoid some of the acrimony encountered in the City of Brotherly Love. John Hancock was selected to preside in their convention. He had not been won over to the Constitution, but his abnormal vanity had been excited by the notion that should Virginia fail to ratify, he and not Washington would become the first president.

According to Beveridge it was in Virginia that the Federal Constitution was really debated openly, before the people and the world. For the first time, too, it was opposed

. . . by men of the highest order in ability, character, and standing,—men who could not be hurried, or bullied, or shaken, or bought. The debates in the Virginia Convention of 1788 are the only masterful

discussions of *both* sides of the controversy that ever took place. . . . It far surpassed, especially in presenting the reasons against the Constitution, the discussion in the Federal Convention itself, in weight of argument and attractiveness of presentation, as well as in the ability and distinction of the debaters.

In these debates the Washington-Madison-Harry Lee coalition won out over the Mason-Patrick Henry-Richard Henry Lee contingent, and ratification was accomplished, but Richard Henry Lee to the end of his days remained unreconciled.

On or about the middle of October, 1788, he determined to run for the United States Senate; a long and intimate letter to Patrick Henry states that the wish to amend the Constitution was the sole reason for announcing his candidacy. In those days senators were chosen by the state legislature, and early in November Lee and William Grayson were duly elected to sit in the first Senate of the United States; James Madison, father of the Constitution and General Washington's candidate, was defeated. Thus spoke the people of Virginia, four months after ratification. April 6 found Senator Lee attending Congress in New York, and on that day he addressed a message to General Washington, informing him that he had been elected President of the United States and expressing the ardent hope that he would accept. Washington took the oath of office on April 30.

During this session of Congress Lee was busy with the amendments. These first ten were adopted on March 4, 1789, were later ratified by the various states, and on the 15th of December, 1791, were made a permanent part of the Constitution. The Tenth Amendment, which Lee proposed in substantially the same form in which it was adopted, states that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This was his last great service to his country. Congress adjourned on September 29, 1789, and he went home to Chantilly.

This estate is described by Thomas Lee Shippen in the letter written from Menokin in 1790, telling of his visits to Stratford and other family places in Virginia:

Chantilly is upon the same river with Stratford, at a distance of about three miles, and commands a much finer view than Stratford by reason of a large bay into which the Potomac forms itself opposite to Chantilly, and a charming little creek whose windings

spread across and water the space which lies before Chantilly and the river. Besides, there is a fine island called Blackstone's that adds to the landscape. At Chantilly you have everything that is most excellent in fish, crabs, wild fowl, and exquisite meats, the best of liquors, and a most hearty welcome. The house is rather commodious than elegant. The sitting room, which is very well ornamented, is 30 x 18 feet, and the dining room, 20 x 24. My uncle has a charming little daughter, whom you remember he mentioned to us, his little beauty. Her name is Sally, and she is everything her friends could wish. The pleasures which so many agreeable circumstances necessarily afforded us at Chantilly were not a little interrupted by the extreme indisposition of the family. Excepting Sally, there was not one of them perfectly well. You were frequently wished for; we never sat down to a fine rockfish, soft crab or wild duck without my Uncle Richard's wishing for you to partake of it. But I must reserve a more particular description of them until we meet. . . .

Chantilly, while not imposing, was a pleasant place, and here for a little while Richard Lee could forget the cares of state. Nothing is known concerning how he spent his days during this period, from the time he left Congress in September, 1789, until his return to New York in April of 1790, but we do know that in May of that year he was desperately ill with influenza, as were Washington, Jefferson, and Bland. Bland died, and Washington's recovery was uncertain at one time. On the first day of July a bill passed the Senate for carrying Congress to Philadelphia for ten years, and after that to the banks of the Potomac, largely through the efforts of Richard Bland Lee.

Writing to James Monroe on January 15, 1791, Lee signified his intention of starting shortly for New York, and also asked to be remembered to Mr. Jefferson, his last message to the Sage of Monticello and the last of many friendly gestures. He was unfortunately injured when his carriage overturned, and did not reach Congress until the following November, when it had assembled in Philadelphia. It was at this time that he made the tart comment to Tom Shippen that "politics is the science of fraud." Down in Virginia another Lee, Light Horse Harry of Stratford, was now governor.

Richard Henry Lee remained in Philadelphia all winter, occupying his seat in the Senate until Congress adjourned the last of April, 1792, but not a single item can be found about him for this entire session. On October 7 George Mason died, and the next day Lee submitted his resignation in the United States Senate, giving the feeble state of

his health as the reason for his action. The Virginia Assembly passed resolutions thanking him for his services, and his long and selfless career of devoted service drew to its close.

When Arthur Lee died in December of that year Richard Henry hastened to his bedside, but whether he arrived before the end is not known. He offered Arthur's will for probate at the courthouse in Urbanna and qualified as sole executor.

Richard Henry Lee's last known letter bears the date of March 8, 1794. It was addressed to General Washington and brought the following reply:

I learn with regret that your health has continued bad ever since I had the pleasure of seeing you at Shuter's Hill. Warm weather, I hope, will restore it. If my wishes could be of any avail, you assuredly would have them.

The end came on June 14, 1794. "When I left Chantilly, it was without hope of ever again seeing the best of men, and I have felt some consolation in learning by your last letter that his last moments were free from pain." These words from Charles Lee, his son-in-law and one of his executors, are all we know of his death.

EPILOGUE

Like every great man, Richard Henry Lee had his share of political enemies; he also had many friends. Both the friendships and the enmities appear to have been lasting.

His relationship with Patrick Henry began in their early years in the House of Burgesses, and they were together on most of the important committees during the next decade. They were potent allies in the Virginia Conventions, and at the First Continental Congress they put life and spirit into an aggregation containing a large proportion of timid folk, and filled the soul of John Adams with joy. Patrick Henry's affection and esteem for Lee are nowhere more manifest than in his letter of May, 1776, earlier quoted in part, in which he urges Lee to return to Virginia for the setting up of the new government:

I wish to . . . have you here, to animate by your manly eloquence the somewhat drooping spirits of our country. [Virginia was always

“our country” to these men.] The grand work of forming a constitution for Virginia is now before the Convention, where your love of equal liberty, and your skill in public counsels, might so eminently serve the cause of your country. . . . Vigor, animation, and all the powers of mind and body, must now be summoned and collected together into one grand effort.

There is the spirit of Virginia in 1776.

After the war there was a time when these two men differed over the financial policy of the state, and were at odds for a year or more. But this matter was settled, correspondence was resumed, and Patrick Henry used his great influence in the Legislature to secure the election of Lee to the United States Senate. It is significant that his biographer published eighteen of his letters written to Richard Henry Lee.

As regards Lee and Washington, a certain amount of nonsense has crept into print concerning their feeling for each other, the latest from the pen of Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, editor of Washington's diaries. He claims that Lee “was antagonistic to Washington and was the leader of the Virginia faction that opposed him.” This implies that Lee was a constant thorn in Washington's side, and that he opposed him during the Revolution, when such action would have been traitorous, or during the presidency, when it certainly would have been disloyal. Such was simply not the case. The Lees, from early times, possessed the faculty of being able to speak directly and to the point, in a manner leaving nothing misunderstood. Richard Henry Lee was no exception, and over five hundred of his letters substantiate this. Nearly fifty of them were directed to Washington himself, including the last one he is known to have written. Had there been any real hostility between the two it would certainly appear somewhere in this vast correspondence.

In addition to the letters there is the record of Lee's numerous visits to Mount Vernon. The first was on May 3, 1775, when he stayed the night and set out with Washington the next day for Philadelphia. There the latter was nominated for command of the army and unanimously elected. Has anyone speculated as to the part Lee played in that matter, or why he was selected to draw Washington's commission and letter of instruction? Furthermore, it was to Lee that Washington wrote on his arrival in Cambridge, complaining of

the stupid Massachusetts militia, and this was the first of a number of highly confidential letters he addressed to him.

The war went on, and late in 1777 there was the Conway Cabal, an attempt to replace Washington as head of the Continental forces.²² Thomas Conway, around whom the plot centered, was an Irishman from France who was commissioned by Silas Deane for the American army and ended up on Gates's staff. This intrigue was highly discreditable to numerous persons, but even Rupert Hughes, in his revelatory biography of Washington, failed to drag a single Virginian into the mess, though he did dig up a letter from Benjamin Harrison to Robert Morris stating that "we have a story circulating here that there has been a motion made in Congress to divide the command of the army and that R. H. L. is at the bottom of it." The initials undoubtedly refer to Richard Henry Lee, but careful analysis will discount the testimony of this letter, particularly when one considers that Harrison was not in sympathy with Lee nor overfond of him, and that something of a feud had existed between the two families for many years.²³ Furthermore, a letter from Patrick Henry, serving his second term as the Commonwealth's first governor, provides ample vindication:

You are again traduced by a certain set who have drawn in others, who say that you are engaged in a scheme to discard General Washington. I know you too well to suppose you attempt anything not evidently calculated to serve the cause of Whiggism. To discard the General would not be so. . . . But it is your fate to suffer the constant attacks of disguised Torys who take this measure to lessen you. Farewell my dear Friend. In praying for your welfare I pray for that of my country, to which your life and service are of the last moment.

Actually, during the year of the Conway rumpus Lee and Washington exchanged more letters than in any other year. All these bits of evidence point to the fact that Lee had less to do with this matter than any member of the Board of War. Had he been part of a scheme attempting to ruin Washington he would hardly have written him the cordial letter of January 3, 1778, immediately after the Conway affair. Nor would his participation in the intrigue have escaped Washington's knowledge; under such circumstances his warm letter to Lee, written several years later on July 15, 1781, would have been most unlikely. It is true that for many years suspicion was attached

to Mr. Lee because certain of his letters were in code, but these have now been translated, and while they do expose the shortcomings of many patriots, they do not in any case reflect on Washington.

What the editor of the Washington diaries should have made clear is that any contention between the two was political rather than personal, because Washington favored the adoption of the Constitution whereas Lee opposed it. Both were by that time private citizens of Virginia, where the question was hotly debated. There is actually no evidence to indicate that they enjoyed anything other than the most cordial relations, attended by mutual admiration and esteem.

There was likewise warm friendship between Lee and George Mason, another neglected patriot, who paid this tribute to Lee: "I speak with the sincerity of a friend, when I assure you that, in my opinion, your presence cannot, must not, be dispensed with." He was urging Lee's attendance at the Virginia Convention, and it is known that his words weighed heavily in influencing Lee's decision. It is difficult to estimate the great value of Mason's services to Virginia, and the value also of his advice to Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Lee. He attested to his regard for the latter on many occasions and in many ways.

Arthur Lee, who at one point in his career was agent for the Colony of Massachusetts in London, may be looked upon as the sponsor of the friendship between Richard Henry Lee and the Adamses, Samuel and John, for Mr. Lee introduced himself as Arthur's brother when initiating a correspondence with Samuel Adams in 1773. He met these men for the first time at the Continental Congress in 1774. The impression he made on John Adams is set down in that gentleman's diary: "He is a masterly man." That John Adams should have shown enthusiasm, unusual in his nature, should be no cause for wonder when we remember that the delegates from New England looked in vain for support of a substantial nature save from Virginia. Adams' initial admiration for Lee grew and deepened with their years of close association, and many references and remarks in his letters and diaries reflect their real and lasting attachment.

These were Lee's particular friends among the eminent men of that time. There were many others. They were of one mind in their regard for his ability and integrity, and his personal devotion to his country and the cause of freedom. He gave to it his time, his talents, and his best efforts, and to it his private life and ultimately his health

were sacrificed. This is his record, and the facts speak for themselves; his accomplishments were many and his contribution was great. The simple tribute of John Adams seems a worthy eulogy, for Adams was his friend, and Adams knew his man.

“He was a gentleman of fine talents, of amiable manners, and of great worth.”

NOTES

PART THREE

¹ An exception is the scholarly account in Hendrick's *The Lees of Virginia*, published in 1935, after Cazenove Lee had written this portion.

² His comments on Lee's first speech in the House of Burgesses are an indication of this, and of his inaccuracy as a writer. He speaks of the "natural diffidence" of his (Richard Henry Lee's) character being increased by the deference he felt for the men of ability and experience in the House at that time, and goes on to say that "the timidity" with which Lee took part in the debate could be perceived from "the brevity" of his speech. He failed to fix the date of Lee's entrance into the House of Burgesses or the date of the speech itself; he also failed to see its historic import, and construed its brevity as an indication of weakness rather than strength. There are other such instances throughout the book.

³ His first mistake was in electing Lee to the Assembly fully two years *after* his speech on slavery was delivered there. He then states that Lee's career in the legislative assembly had not been especially noteworthy up until that time, but that the proposition in regard to the importation of slaves "so aroused him that his natural timidity was overcome for the time, and his address was a torrent of eloquence and at once gave him a high rank as an orator . . . and that from this time on he became a bold and successful leader." On the contrary, the *Journals of the House of Burgesses* tells us that Lee was active almost from the first day he entered the Capitol at Williamsburg, and he was probably talkative. See *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1619, 1776. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine (1619 to 1761) and John P. Kennedy (1761 to 1776) and published by the Virginia State Library (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1905-15).

⁴ His grandmother was a Wormeley, his mother a daughter of Beverley, the historian, and both his father and grandfather were men of prominence. Robinson appears to have been the person on whom the mantle of Robert Carter had fallen.

⁵ William Wirt and W. W. Henry, aided and abetted by Jefferson. See Henry's *Patrick Henry: His Life, Correspondence and Speeches* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), I, 76. Those interested may compare what he has written in this article with the account on pp. X-XXVI of the preface to the *Journals of the House of Burgesses* for 1766-69. See also William Wirt, *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia: James Webster, 1817).

⁶ Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams, with a Life*

of the *Author* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1850-56), III, 31. "Jealousies and divisions appeared among the delegates of no state more remarkably than among those of Virginia. . . . These feelings among the Virginia delegates were a great injury to us. Mr. Samuel Adams and myself were very intimate with Mr. Lee and he agreed perfectly with us in the great system of our policy, and by his means we kept a majority of the delegates of Virginia with us; but Harrison, Pendleton, and some others, showed their jealousy of this intimacy plainly enough at times."

⁷ Mention of this William Jones continues to appear in the Warrenton records for two or more generations, and there is reason to believe that it identifies a lost branch of the Cobbs Hall line. Down in Northumberland County in the summer of 1704 a man by this name had married Leeanna Lee (daughter of Charles Lee of Cobbs), lived on her lands (a part of the Ditchley estate), and in 1744 left a will, devising his lands "about the falls of the Rappahannock" to his son, William Jones III, who had a wife, Mary, surname unknown. In this will he also mentioned his daughter, Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. John Bell of Christ Church, Lancaster. On December 31, 1746, a William Jones witnessed the will of Charles Lee of Cobbs, and in 1764 a lease was executed between Richard Henry Lee and the William Jones then living in Fauquier, who had a wife, Mary, and sons, William and James. These two William Joneses were undoubtedly one and the same person; i.e., the William Jones III who was the son of William Jones, Jr., of Northumberland.

⁸ For records of Richard Henry Lee's leases and sales see: *Fauquier Deeds*, II, 433, 436; V, 477, 495; *Northern Neck Records*, E, 346-48 (Virginia State Library, Richmond); *Westmoreland Wills*, X.

⁹ Charles Lee (1758-1815) was the son of Henry Lee of Leesylvania and Lucy Grymes, and a brother of Light Horse Harry Lee and Richard Bland Lee. He received his B.A. from Princeton in 1775 and his M.A. in 1778, and studied law the following year in Philadelphia. From 1795 to 1801 he was Attorney General of the U.S., appointed by Washington and continued in office by Adams. He was an executor of Richard Henry Lee's will and one of the attorneys for the Fairfax estate. He acted as counsel in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison* in 1803 and in 1807 defended Aaron Burr in his trial for treason.

His first wife was Richard Henry Lee's daughter, Anne (1770-1804), whom he married in 1789; their home in Alexandria he later deeded to Christ Church as a rectory, a purpose it still fulfills. As Anne Lee's husband he fell heir to part of Richard Henry's Fauquier estate when Cassius Lee, one of the three sons to whom it had been left, died unmarried and intestate in 1798; in 1803 he doubled these holdings by the purchase of an equal portion from Edmund Jennings Lee and his wife, Sarah, another daughter of Richard Henry Lee. At his death these lands were divided between his children, Elizabeth and Robert. The latter's property, known as St. Leonard's, was in later years the home of John Barton Payne, chairman of the American Red Cross. Elizabeth married the Rev. Abram Pollock and her home, Leeton Forest, remained in the family until modern times. See Figure 12, Part III, for the division of these properties.

Charles Lee was married for the second time to Mrs. Margaret (Scott) Peyton in 1809. He died at his home in Fauquier on June 24, 1815, and was buried in Martin Pickett's family lot near Turkey Run Church. His widow sub-

sequently married John Glassell and their home, Waverley, was on the Lee tract. It was sold in 1837.

¹⁰ Henry, *Life of Patrick Henry*, I, 61; *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVIII (1910), 159; Richard H. Lee, *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee and His Correspondence* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lee, 1825), I, 29, 41. Lee himself in a letter to the *Virginia Gazette* in 1766 says: "With confidence I appeal to many worthy gentlemen with whom I served in the General Assembly. They know who first moved, in the House of Burgesses, for the address to his Majesty, the Memorial to the Lords, and the remonstrance to the House of Commons; they also know what part I took in preparing these papers."

¹¹ After being treasured at Stratford for sixty years it was lost sight of until 1847, when it was presented to the Hon. John Y. Mason, Secretary of the Navy, by Dr. Samuel J. Carr of South Carolina, enclosed in a paper containing these words:

"This remarkable document, illustrative of the early patriotism of Virginia gentlemen, was found among the papers of the late Henry Lee, Esq. [Major Henry Lee, Jr.], Consul General to Algiers. In view of its better preservation for the honor of Virginia and the numerous descendants of the illustrious men who signed it, it is now confined to the care of the Hon. John Y. Mason, an eminent son of Virginia, whose appreciation of its importance will secure its perpetual safety, by Sam'l Jno. Carr of So. Carolina, now residing in Maryland.

Baltimore, 1847."

Mason sent it on to William C. Rives, president of the Virginia Historical Society, together with the following letter:

"Washington City, December 13, 1848.

"Sir:

"In the year 1847, Dr. Carr, now deceased, placed in my hands an original manuscript Document, dated 1766, which appears to me so interesting in the Colonial History of Virginia, that I venture to transmit it to you, for such disposition as the Historical Society may think proper to make of it. It was signed by the patriots of that day, soon after the passage of the British Stamp Act of 1765 was known in the Colony, and it asserts in bold language the thoughts, essential to Civil Liberty, which were subsequently maintained by the American Revolution.

"I have the honor to be

Very respectfully your ob't serv't,
J. Y. Mason.

"To the President of the Historical Society of Va."

The document was formally presented to the Society at the Annual Meeting, held on January 14, 1849. At this same meeting Charles Carter Lee read a paper, Lt. Matthew Fontaine Maury read an essay on the stars, and among those elected to honorary membership were General Winfield Scott and Washington Irving.

¹² The children of Richard Henry Lee were as follows:

- (a) *Thomas*, born October 20, 1758, died 1805. Married October, 1788, to Mildred Washington; married secondly to Eliza Ashton Brent.

- (b) *Ludwell*, born October 13, 1760, died March 23, 1836. Married January, 1780, to his cousin, Flora Lee; married secondly to Elizabeth Armistead.
- (c) *Mary*, born July 28, 1764. Married Augustine Washington on July 5, 1792. Died early, leaving no issue.
- (d) *Hannah*, born ca. 1766, died ca. 1801. Married May 10, 1787, to Corbin Washington.
- (e) *Anne*, born December 1, 1770, died September 9, 1804. Married her cousin, Charles Lee, on February 11, 1789.
- (f) *Henrietta*, born December 10, 1773, died 1803-4. Married Richard Lee Turberville about December 14, 1794; married secondly to the Rev. William Maffitt of South Carolina.
- (g) *Sarah*, born November 27, 1775, died May 8, 1837. Married her cousin, Edmund Jennings Lee, in 1746.
- (h) *Cassius*, born August 18, 1779, died unmarried on July 8, 1798.
- (i) *Francis Lightfoot*, born June 18, 1782, died April 13, 1850. Married two sisters, Elizabeth and Jane Fitzgerald of Alexandria.

¹³ At times the British government had a way of placing their governors in such northern provinces as New York for a period of probation, and if the neophyte proved zealous in promoting royal prerogative, he might look forward to promotion to the palace at Williamsburg. These career men invariably failed to give satisfaction in Virginia, and Dunmore was no exception. They found him "abrupt, imperious, arbitrary; in short, Dunmore was a Stuart, and acted the part to perfection." See William H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three* (Portsmouth: Pointcraft Press, 1929).

¹⁴ Roger Atkinson came to Virginia about 1750, settled near Petersburg, and married Anne, the daughter of John Pleasants, in 1763. From 1760 to 1784 he was vestryman of Bristol Parish ("Old Blandford"). The letter is found in the *Virginia Historical Magazine*, XV (1908), 354.

¹⁵ Mr. Marshall (the father), after speaking of Mr. Henry's speech as "one of the most bold, vehement, and animated pieces of eloquence that had ever been delivered," proceeded to state that "he was followed by Mr. Richard H. Lee, who took a most interesting view of our real situation. He stated the force that Britain could probably bring to bear upon us, and reviewed our resources and means of resistance. He stated the advantages and disadvantages of both parties, and drew from this statement auspicious inferences. But he concluded with saying, admitting the probable calculation to be against us, we are assured in holy writ that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong"; Adams, *The Life and Works of John Adams*, II, 362-63; Thomas E. Watson, *The South in the Building of a Nation*, Vol. IX, *The History of Southern Oratory* (Richmond: The Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909-13). "This is very curious. It would seem to prove that when William Wirt was picking up scraps and shreds and particles to manufacture the Patrick Henry speech . . . he seized upon a portion of the address actually delivered by Richard Henry Lee."

¹⁶ Sir George Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1908). This writer gives many facts relating to the siege of Boston that Bancroft sees fit to omit.

¹⁷ His biographer erroneously states that he hurriedly left Philadelphia on June 11 because of his wife's illness, and that his absence alone deprived him of this honor. In the first place he did not leave on the 11th, but on the 13th, and

under that date he wrote to Washington, saying, "On this day I set out for Virginia." While he did first go home to Chantilly and was there from June 17 to 19 before proceeding to Williamsburg, he was absent from Congress not because of his wife's illness, which was not a sudden one, as she had been taken ill in January, but because he had decided his place was with his Virginia countrymen at this time. As early as May 28 he had written his brother, Thomas Ludwell Lee: "Col. Nelson is not arrived but I suppose he will by this date sennight, about which time I shall sett out for Virginia, and after resting at home a day or two, will attend the Convention at Williamsburg. . . ." All these things are clearly stated in a letter to General Charles Lee, dated from Williamsburg on June 29: "The desire of being here at the formation of our new government brought me from Philadelphia the 13th of this month. I have had the pleasure to see our new plan of government go on well. This day will put a finishing hand to it." See also James C. Ballagh, *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1911), I, 172, 196, 201.

¹⁸ George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1834-75), IV, 421. In justice to Dickinson it should be stated that later he owned Congress to have been right. He also served an enlistment as a private in the Continental Army, and must be regarded as a patriot. Pennsylvania politics at that time are difficult to understand, yet it is clear that the Quakers had a strangle hold on the government.

¹⁹ It seems that this copy was given or sold to the John Vaughn who appears to be the physician of that name in Wilmington, Delaware, who died in 1807, according to *Appleton's Encyclopaedia*.

²⁰ Burgoyne's surrender was celebrated by a proclamation of Thanksgiving issued by the Congress at York. An Associated Press dispatch for November 26, 1925, recalls this little known occasion:

"Although the first observance of Thanksgiving Day in America is credited to the Pilgrims in 1621, the city of York, Pennsylvania, claims the honor of being the birthplace of the first national Thanksgiving proclamation. This proclamation, issued in 1777, was a product of the meeting of the Continental Congress in York from September 30, 1777, to June 27, 1778. Shortly after the Congress assembled, news of the surrender of General Burgoyne reached the members. On October 31 President Laurens appointed Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts and General Roberdeau of Pennsylvania, a committee to draft a national proclamation of Thanksgiving. The document was written by Lee, and on November 1 the Committee brought in a report, which was adopted unanimously."

²¹ *Journal of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, 1784-1814* (Philadelphia: John Bioren, 1817). Among the clergy present were Mason Weems, the biographer of Washington; Lee Massey of Truro, Virginia; William Stewart of St. Paul's Parish in Virginia; and Alex Balmaine, once the tutor of Richard Henry Lee's children.

²² Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912-26), III, 291. According to this author, it is impossible to say how much the attack on Washington was part of a popular revolt, and how far it was merely an attempt of a group of officers to push themselves to the foremost positions in the army, in which attempt they were aided by those men who were dissatisfied with Washington's treatment of themselves.

²³ Benjamin Harrison was the eldest surviving son of Benjamin Harrison of

Berkeley and Anne Carter, a daughter of Robert ("King") Carter of Corotoman, and was connected by blood or marriage with the most powerful names of that day. His sister, Anne, married William Randolph of Wilton-on-the-James, and another sister, Elizabeth Harrison, was the wife of Peyton Randolph, President of the First Continental Congress. His aunt, Elizabeth Carter, by her first husband, Nathaniel Burwell, had a daughter who married William Nelson of Yorktown, President of the Council; by her second husband, George Nicholas, she became the mother of Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of Virginia. Judith Carter, another aunt, married Mann Page of Rosewell, and still another, Mary Carter, was the wife of George Braxton and the mother of Carter Braxton, the Signer.

The origin of the feud between Harrison and Richard Henry Lee goes back to the time of the former's grandfather, "King" Carter, who in 1710 was replaced by Edmund Jenings as Resident Agent for the Northern Neck Proprietary. Thomas Lee, father of Richard Henry, was put in charge during Jenings' absence in England, and capably handled the agency for four years. Being in effect superseded by a mere lad must have rankled in the mind of the all-powerful Carter, who was not apt to forget this grievance. To it another was added in 1728, when Carter and one of his sons opened what they thought was a copper mine on a branch of Horsepen Run in Fairfax County. The logical route for conveying their ore to tidewater lay across the lands of Thomas Lee, but Thomas vetoed the plan and Carter was forced to cut a longer road through the forest from Occoquan to Fairfax and Centreville. Succeeding generations of his descendants continued to harbor resentment against the Lee family because of this, culminating during the Revolutionary period in the attempts of some of them, including Harrison, to play politics and weaken the prestige of the Lees. James Lovell of Massachusetts mentions Harrison's antipathy toward Richard Henry Lee in a letter to General Whipple of New Hampshire dated July 7, 1777: ". . . for this day we find that Col. R. H. Lee had not only rec'd the most honorable testimonies of approbation for his past conduct, but was elected anew on the 24th ulto. Old H . . . [Benjamin Harrison] has whispered it all along the road that Col. Lee has ordered his overseer to demand produce of bullion for rent, but this was proved to be false by the fullest declaration of the overseer and other evidence. I feel exceeding glad on this event." See Edmund C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921-36).

Part Four ❧ ❧ ❧

A DIPLOMATIST OF THE
REVOLUTION

Part Four

A DIPLOMATIST OF THE REVOLUTION

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WILLIAM LEE

1739-1795

Signer of the Westmoreland Resolves
Sheriff and Alderman of London
Commercial Agent for the Colonies to France
Commissioner to the Courts of Berlin and Vienna
Member of the Virginia Senate

Chapter I

BUSINESSMAN AND POLITICIAN

I. A PREFACE

WILLIAM LEE (Plate XXVI) and his brother, Arthur, the younger sons of Thomas Lee of Stratford, are two highly controversial figures of the Revolutionary period. Their political careers are closely connected, and both of them have for the most part been misrepresented, maligned, or ignored by historians until recent years. An early work, notable for its vilification of the Lees, is Francis Wharton's *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, published in 1889. The distaste for the Lees manifested in this opus had been nurtured for well over a century, for Wharton's two great-uncles, Samuel and Thomas Wharton, had been involved with Franklin, Bancroft, Galloway, and others, in the Vandalia affair, a venture to which the Lees, for good reasons, were violently opposed.¹ Happily for history, another publication appeared in the same year that cast a new light on the two Lee brothers. In 1860 Benjamin F. Stevens, a native of Vermont, settled in London and began the research which was to result in his photographic record of revolutionary documents. When a man with a camera is granted access to the public record offices of London and Paris he may be expected to uncover some revealing evidence. Stevens found plenty of it. In 1889 he brought out the first of a series of twenty-five illuminating volumes. The last one was published in 1893, and the complete work, entitled *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America (1773-83)*, is a masterly achievement, with a fine index. It contains the actual photographic reproductions of the confidential and private correspondence of the British government with its political agents and spies, from the time the news of the

Declaration of Independence reached England to the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1783. Also included are reproductions of similar secret intelligence obtained by France, Holland, and Spain through their respective agents and spies.

Stevens, in this work, disclosed the large amount of American correspondence, personal and confidential, which was intercepted by British cruisers on the high seas, by British spies in Dr. Franklin's entourage, and by clerks in the British Post Office. His research also turned up documentary evidence of treasonable activities on the part of such men as Silas Deane, Lupton, Wentworth, Bancroft, Carmichael, and others, all of whom did some odd things and corresponded with some queer folk while posing as patriots. Naturally these men did not like the Lees, who told them off with no dissimulation. It was William Lee who reported the disgraceful state of affairs at Nantes involving Morris, Deane, and others, when he went there as Commercial Agent for Congress. It was Arthur Lee who later exposed Deane's carelessness in keeping accounts, and voiced his suspicions of the latter's integrity in the contracts with Beaumarchais, suspicions which proved to be well grounded. And it was Arthur who discovered the astounding treacheries of Edward Bancroft, Dr. Franklin's intimate friend and trusted confidant, who throughout the war was on the British payroll as a secret agent, and the almost unbelievable double-dealings of Deane and others, which went on right under Franklin's nose at the American diplomatic headquarters at Passy, outside of Paris. But when Arthur Lee laid these villainies before Dr. Franklin and warned him of the dangers to which he was exposed, he refused to believe them and denounced the Lees for their officiousness. Arthur was rewarded for his pains by what amounted to virtual exclusion from the proceedings of the mission, although he was an accredited member of the triumvirate of which Franklin and Deane were the other members. The Lees had their faults, but time has shown them to have been honest, fearless, and suspicious of most men in Paris. And with good reason. Their unmasking of the group of men surrounding Franklin brought down upon their heads a torrent of vituperation from which neither Arthur nor William ever recovered. The friends and associates of Franklin, Deane, Bancroft, and Morris outdid themselves in anathematizing the two Lees. But the Stevens *Facsimiles* prove beyond question that the Lees were right.

The specific value of this work to the Lee family lies in its exposure of the true character of the men who denounced the Lees and thus caused later historians to do likewise. It is of great importance historically, and has been and is now available to students and writers; the pity is that more use has not been made of it. As late as 1908 Trevelyan indulged himself at Arthur Lee's expense, and three years later Edward Channing's history, while it expressed some appreciation of Arthur's services in Spain, showed a complete ignorance of much that the author should have known, had he consulted Stevens.

One of the first Americans to make use of the *Facsimiles* was Worthington C. Ford, who brought out *The Letters of William Lee* in 1891, but he quotes only from the first volume, perhaps the only one completed at that time. And he was himself guilty of making the statement that Arthur Lee had ruined Silas Deane without good cause. It is true that Lee's exposures and complaints formed the basis of the charges which recalled Deane to America, but Ford's remark that Arthur Lee had been responsible for his ruination did a lot of harm, coming from a man of Mr. Ford's standing, himself engaged in editing the letters of William Lee. It also influenced much that has been written since. No one rose to ask whether or not this were actually so; no one noted that Silas Deane had been recalled by the unanimous vote of Congress.²

Obviously the student attempting to get at the facts involved in the various diplomatic feuds hatched in Philadelphia and Paris during the Revolution did not have an easy time. The writing of American history seemed controlled for the most part by historians ignorant of the facts, or biased in their attitude toward the Lees.

This was the state of affairs when, in 1935, Dr. Burton J. Hendrick published *The Lees of Virginia*, a volume which has done an immeasurable service to the Lee family and to history. Hendrick made full use of the *Facsimiles*, and proved, by documentary evidence, that the Lees were right in denouncing Franklin's headquarters as a seat of espionage in the interest of Britain; he also makes the point that the prolongation of the war was largely due to the information which Bancroft daily supplied, for money, to the British Ministry in London. This book has caused many persons to revise their opinions about William and Arthur Lee. It also caused the professors at the University of Virginia to observe that some mighty interesting manuscripts

had been gathering dust in their library for a long time. If and when these writings of Arthur Lee are published, American scholarship should do the rest.

2. THE APPRENTICE

William Lee of Greenspring, late of Tower Hill, London, was more completely a Stratford product than any of his brothers, with the possible exception of Francis Lightfoot, for unlike the other four, these two did not go abroad to complete their education. But while William may have lacked some of the polish the others acquired by their European finishing schools, he was second to none of them in the family traits of energy, honesty, courage, and love of politics. This fifth son of Thomas and Hannah Lee was born at Stratford on August 31, 1739. In 1750, when Thomas Lee died, the three older sons were pursuing their education in England; Hannah, the elder daughter, was probably married and living at Peckatone; Francis Lightfoot, Alice, William, and Arthur, aged respectively sixteen, thirteen, eleven, and ten, were all doubtless living at home. But a few years brought many changes. By 1755 Richard Henry had become a justice, and two years later he was married. In 1756 Philip Ludwell Lee, now master of Stratford, was elected to the House of Burgesses, and the next year was elevated to the Council. The year 1758 was a busy one for the Lees: Francis Lightfoot was honored by the electorate of Loudoun, Richard Henry entered the House of Burgesses from Westmoreland, and Thomas Ludwell Lee from Stafford, to which county he had moved and built the fine brick mansion he called Bellview. These elder four sons of Thomas Lee were well launched on their careers and Arthur, the youngest, had been shipped off to Eton. But what of William?

By the rule of primogeniture the younger sons had to get along as best they could, which might be bettered or worsened according to the good will of the older brother and the contrivances of the mother. William got very little of either. His mother seems to have paid more attention to her oldest son, the heir apparent, and to her growing daughters, though it is likely that William would have had his day with her in time. She died when he was ten and his father the following year. The loss of both parents in his young boyhood was certainly a misfortune, but William, underprivileged and aloof, developed a hard will to succeed despite his handicaps.

By the time Philip Ludwell Lee married in 1760 he had managed to clear the house of all the Lees except this brother. Membership in the House of Burgesses and the Council necessitated Philip's presence in Williamsburg at least four times a year, and being a thrifty soul he placed William, then a lad in his teens, in charge of all his estates during his absence. It was good training. William tells us in one of his letters that during a period of three years (1755-58) he acted as "Clerk-Steward and principal manager of his whole estate," which was composed of Stratford and the other Westmoreland properties, and the Fairfax, Northumberland, and Loudoun lands in Virginia; in Maryland there was a portion of the Nanticoke tract in Dorchester County, where the old Rehoboth mansion still stands.

This experience gave him a wide acquaintance throughout the country and stood him in good stead later on, for in some ways it made up for his lack of formal education. In addition, he had other advantages. He made a trip to England in 1761, probably to deposit his sister, Alice, with the Ludwells, who had taken up residence there. The next spring he attended the wedding of this sister to Dr. William Shippen of Philadelphia, at St. Mary le Strand, London.³ Late in 1763 he was back in Virginia, acting as secretary for the Mississippi Company, and in 1766 he, with four of his brothers, signed the Westmoreland Resolves. Sometime during this period he also made a trip to Barbados.

By 1768 he had decided to go abroad to live, at least for a while, and in the summer of that year departed for England in the company of his brother, Arthur. We do not know the exact date, but on January 19, 1770, he wrote Thomas Ludwell Lee from London: "'Tis now about 18 months since we had the happiness of being together." The diaries of George Washington show that William and Arthur visited him at Mount Vernon in July of 1768. So apparently the two brothers stopped off at Mount Vernon and nearby Bellview en route to New York, from whence they embarked. William intended to go on to India and the East and even made certain preparations for the trip after reaching London, but things took a different turn. Arthur Lee was also to change his mind about the future; he had planned to practice medicine either in London or Bath, but in 1770 he took up the study of law.

When William left Virginia that July day in 1768 his twenty-eight

years at Stratford were at an end, and his life half over. His first ten years had been passed there during the high tide of his father's career; the next eighteen, when he lived there with Philip Ludwell Lee, must certainly have been stimulating ones. He had been broadened by trips abroad and by frequent visits to Williamsburg, where he came in contact with the political personages of the day. He had a wide acquaintance in the great houses of Tidewater Virginia, and was related to many of these families by close ties of kinship. He departed for England animated, we may be sure, by the careers of his four elder brothers, and aroused by events of the French and Indian Wars. When he and Arthur climbed aboard that ship in New York, they carried with them a generous supply of political germs in their blue blood and hot heads.

During the time William lived abroad he carried on a wide correspondence and kept meticulous records, including a copy of each or most of these letters. The following pages contain material from several of these letter books.⁴ For additional correspondence Ford's edition of William Lee's letters and Ballagh's compilation of the letters of Richard Henry Lee have been quoted. No attempt has been made to explore the mass of material in the Virginia Historical Society relating to William's diplomatic adventuring, although reference has been made to that source. Rather the attempt has been made, through these letters, to show something of the personal side of this member of the Lee family, whose private life had been as obscured as his political career has been misrepresented. His correspondence furnishes glimpses of the man himself, his relatives, his business methods, and his tribulations with landlords, ship captains, rascally tobacco importers, business competitors, and patrons. His commentaries on the education of youth should be valuable, and there are delightful side lights on his tastes in food and drink, music and the arts. We are also given an insight into his relations with his family and with public figures and ordinary citizens. One letter reveals the solicitude he felt for his servants at Greenspring, the "castle" in Virginia he inherited from his wife's family, the Ludwells. The letter books also furnish a lively picture of his famous brothers, and that is perhaps their greatest value, for what more could a man desire than to contribute to the fame of five brothers nearly one hundred fifty years after his own death?

3. THE TOBACCO MERCHANT

William Lee arrived in England in the fall of 1768, and the next spring, on March 7th, was married to his first cousin, Hannah Philippa Ludwell, eldest daughter of Philip Ludwell III of Greenspring. She was born there on December 21, 1737, but at the time of her marriage was living in London. The ceremony took place at St. Clement Dane's in the county of Middlesex, London. William, following the example of his great-grandfather, great-uncle, and uncle, then proceeded to establish himself in the tobacco trade, an aristocratic business activity far above shopkeeping and woolen drapery. He joined the firm of De Berdts and Sayre, a venture which turned out badly due to the early death of the senior partner, who possessed most of the credit. But William was undaunted. He possessed, first of all, the proud heritage which made him superior in every sense of the word. He had inherited "the strong natural parts" attributed to his father, and had worked hard learning the tobacco trade in the warehouses and offices of Stratford. Prior to leaving Virginia he had secured promises of consignments of tobacco from his relatives and friends, and now with confidence and diligence he started out once more, this time on his own keel. He represented these American tobacco planters on the Virginia Walk of the Royal Exchange, and as they became convinced of his ability and business acumen he forged steadily ahead. But it makes us smile to see that this haughty Lee, when his instincts got him involved in politics, had to join a union in order to gain standing as an honest workingman and worthy merchant. There being no Tobacco Guild he became a member of the Haberdashers, though the Skinners Guild would have done just as well. So William was a haberdasher—on paper. He was probably the ablest Lee of his generation in a business sense and was as highly successful in the tobacco trade as was Arthur Lee in the practice of law.

The letter books tell us something about the establishment of William Lee's English home. It seems that for a time after their marriage the young couple rented a house in Ipswich, a locality situated in Norfolk on a tributary of the North Sea, about sixty-five miles from London, and described by William as being both healthier and cheaper. William may have found Ipswich healthier than the city,

but his letters disclose that he nevertheless suffered a severe illness there about March, 1770.

The lease of the Ipswich home, which was called Lilliput, ran from Midsummer Day (June 21), 1769, for a year forward, but appears to have been extended to Michaelmas Day (September 29), 1770. This property, which included an orchard and chicken yard, was owned by one Francis Warden. It was located in St. Helen's parish and we read with interest that the Reverend Peter Routh sometimes won a few shillings from William at cards. During their stay in Ipswich a Captain and Mrs. Daniel Richardson became their intimate friends. When their lease was up in the fall of 1770 and they decided to move to London, they spent a week with these people, having shipped their household goods on ahead in a vessel known as a hoy. It was to this Captain Richardson that William Lee later wrote an indignant letter complaining about the "villainy" of one of the local Ipswich characters:

Tho' I knew a good deal of the villainy of the lower people at Ipswich, yet I profess I have not been lately more surprized at anything than at the confident roguery of Howes: I never in my life gave him or any person else Orders to call upon you for money on any Acc^t, the fellow I never spoke to but once, & that was on Tuesday the 14th of August when I was very busy packing, he call'd at my house with his book ab^t the water rent, I told him I was too busy then to speake to him ab^t anything but if he w^d call on me at y^r house the friday following I w^d then talk to him, he mutter'd something & I order'd him to go about his business as he was an impertinent fellow.

Their furniture having arrived, it was conveyed to 33 Tower Hill, which was to be their London home, by the ever faithful Edward Browne, a clerk in the countinghouse which seems to have been a part of the Tower Hill establishment. It is possible that Browne may have become a partner at a later date; we do know that he was sent to Virginia in 1775 in an attempt to collect some bad debts, and he proved himself a trusted friend during all the vicissitudes William Lee and his family were to undergo during the war years. He apparently had charge of the arrangements for getting the young couple settled, for it is recorded that he leased the property, put it in order, and secured a boy to "wait table and clean dishes" for the sum of five pounds per annum, with board and lodging and a suit of livery. Times

and domestic wages have changed. Browne did not provide a cook, as this servant was imported from Ipswich.

It should be noted that William did not leave his effects at Stratford when he sailed away to England, an example of perspicacity which later generations of Lees might have followed to advantage. In a letter to Francis Lightfoot Lee in July, 1770, he requests him to sell "the remainder of my things, Coach and all" at Sandy Point, where he had left them with his beloved Steptoes. He reveals some additional local color when writing to this same brother in August of the next year:

I give you joy in being under your own Vine, your happiness there we have not forgot to Toast and hope you have not forgot the old Demerara that was left by me at Sandy Point, for the good old Virginia Custom of a House Warming and which T. Steptoe told me you had left there still and that Dr. S[teptoe] and my old Friend B. Eskridge had threatened to encroach on it.

When we recall that Arthur Lee had left no less than five horses at Chantilly to eat corn and hay until they could be sold (Richard Henry purchased two of these Virginia creepers for his own use and had a hard time disposing of the other three), we are inclined to agree that he must have cut quite a figure the year he lived in Williamsburg, and that William, in his own coach, was not far behind him.

Now for a glance into William and Hannah's London home. The Lees of Virginia had lived well; they were connoisseurs of food and drink, and famous the countryside over for the hearty board and flowing bowl of their various households. William was no exception, and his letters indicate that he strove to maintain the same degree of excellence in his English menage. He had a particular fondness for good wines; he stored some Demerara at Sandy Point, as we have seen, and records show that he once had some Port and Madeira pilfered from his cellar at Ipswich, and that on another occasion he forgot to pay the Reverend Mr. Routh for the claret he had purchased. And in his orders for stocking the house on Tower Hill prior to his arrival, instructions were included for providing a firkin or kilderkin of ten-shilling beer. A kilderkin was equal to two firkins, or eighteen gallons. We also have this letter, written later to a firm of wine merchants in Madeira, from whom he was laying in a supply:

London, 23 May 1776

Messrs. Lamar, Hill & Bissett,
(Merchants at Madeira)

I am to request you will ship for me a pipe of y^r best Madeira wine, Virg^a guage, for my own use in the first good Vessel that touches at y^r port bound for Grenada or Jamaica and from thence here so that the Wine may have a round about passage. If the ship is good I w^d chuse that which is most likely to be detained longest in the West Indies, that the Wine may have more of the hot Climate. The kind of Wine I sh^d chuse is such as was usually sent from your house to the Hon^{ble} Col^o Ludwell, Tho^s Nelson, & John Tayloe in Virg^a for their private use, if you can recollect what that was. I like in general best the full bodied Wine, rich, of Nut flavour & not too high coloured, but such as you send for M^r Lamar's private use here, will I dare say please. The last vintage I am told is better than any for 7 y^{rs} past, You will please to advise me when the Wine is ship'd & y^r dft for the value shall be duely honor'd. I am &c.

William was missing the delicacies which had been so much a part of the Stratford fare, for in October, 1770, he directed this plaintive message to Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of Virginia and administrator of the estate of Philip Ludwell III, William's father-in-law:

Mrs. Lee & myself being Virginians still remember the excellency of your hams & the sweetness of Homony: therefore beg you will direct the manager to send us by any convenient opportunitys a few good hams or shoulders of Bacon, with some homony & Beans: a Summer Drake and Duck alive wou'd be also most acceptable.

The craving of William's appetite for some good Virginia food must have increased as the months passed, for in December he wrote directly to Cary Wilkinson, the manager at Greenspring:

I desire you will send me by her [his ship, the *Liberty*] as many good hams as you can spare & some shoulders of Bacon; they must not be packed up in anything but sent loose with a bit of flat stick or bit of parchment tyed fast to each separate piece of bacon & directed for M^r Edward Browne in London with N^o I & so on to the highest number on the different pieces. Let the Cap^t be desired to hang them separately over the stern of the ship all the passage.

As an afterthought he added: "A bottle or two of Virginia honey w^d be very acceptable." From his sister Hannah Corbin he asked for

a "Red bird and mocking Bird . . . A Summer Duck and Drake. Send me some good Hams, honey, Mint & Rose Water."

Virginians, ever prone to lighten the suffering of exiled friends, hastened to William's relief. To Squire Lee, who had been most kind in his benevolence, William wrote:

M^{rs} Lee begs her best Comp^s & thanks may be presented to M^{rs} Kenner for the hams she was so obliging as to send her. God preserve you in this day of danger.

William also knew how to bestow acceptable gifts. In a letter to his brother, Frank, he announced a shipment of lemons he was sending:

I have sent to the Squire by Cap Montomerie a Chest of Lemons to be divided between you two. I know how pleasant a tiff of cool Punch is in Sultry weather.

At the same time another chest of lemons was sent to Richard Henry Lee, to be shared with the family at Stratford.

William's genius for inserting interesting items in his correspondence is seen in this quotation:

The Doctor [Arthur Lee] is gone on a Tour to Wales, with One of his Staunch Bill of Rights Men. . . . The Partridges were all Lost, but the Duck I have at my right hand in good Health, but not in good Spirits, being like a true Female, abhorrent of Solitary Confinement. I dare not let my M^{rs} Lee see this, whose absence at St. Paul's & M^{rs} Salmons Wax work with G. L. Turberville makes me so bold, therefore pray don't let your M^{rs} Lee see it, for you know how few Females ('tho my D^r Sister, you may be an Exception) can keep secrets.

While engaged in establishing a reputation for excellent fare in his London home William did not neglect the cultural side of life. Faint symptoms of an appreciation for music had appeared earlier in several members of the Lee family. And there was the famous house party at Lee Hall, where the grand ball was enlivened by the singing of "Liberty Songs." Arthur Lee is credited with a verse of one of them. Some of the family also tried their hand at poetry. Philip Ludwell Lee must be held responsible for the "funeral ode" to his mother which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1750. Arthur Lee was the victim, later on, of a similar outrage from the

pen of his nephew, Ludwell Lee. But William's ability as a critic of things musical bursts upon us unexpectedly in a letter to Squire James Davenport of Westmoreland. After lecturing on the difficulty encountered in selling poor tobacco, he encounters without breaking the paragraph:

I wish you cou'd transport yourself here for a month, you wou'd think yourself in Heaven, the Musical performers were never better. You never heard a Solo on the Violin a Millionth part so masterly, so delicious, or so delicate as Duport on the Violincello, besides we have Madam Sermin, just from Italy that excells Giordini or even Geminiani on the Violin, she has but half the Town crazy.

Arthur Lee left similar enthusiastic accounts of operas and concerts he attended in London, and even Philip Ludwell Lee had evidently acquired a taste for music, for he commissioned William to procure arrangements for him from time to time, without always making provision for payment. There is one letter from William politely refusing to send him an expensive order unless he is prepared to pay for it. His patience must have run out, for on an earlier occasion he was more obliging:

I have sent you the only Song I have met with that is tolerable; we are all in the Opera way & those songs are seldom tolerable without the accompanyments.

From the beginning, William's home in England was open to his kinsmen and friends from America; he dispensed hospitality, advice, and on occasion financial aid. Several of his young relatives were placed in his care during their stays abroad. The first of these to arrive was Tom Steptoe. William had many pleasant recollections of the Steptoe home and was fond of all that household, so when this lad, a brother-in-law of three of his own brothers, came to London we may be sure a warm welcome awaited him at the Tower Hill home, and there he stayed a month. When he sailed for India William wrote him a long letter filled with fatherly advice:

I hope you will have virtue enough to prevent your morals & principles from being tainted by bad examples, of which I am afraid you will have too many. Consider the Duty you owe to your Maker, your friends, & yourself, and let no redicule, example, or persuasion make you swerve from it in any point, on which entirely depends, not your own future happiness, but your success, Peace & Prosperity

in this Life. You were born to act in a sphere above the common herd & to do this with propriety you shou'd take care not to imbibe the principles, notions & manners of the lower classes of mankind, which are totally incompatible with a gentleman. You must be cautious in the disposal of your little venture & remember as it is your all it must be husbanded with frugality. Mrs. Lee and the Doctor send you their best wishes, with much sincerity I send you every blessing in my power & am your affectionate Friend.

Some of the advice must have borne fruit, for when Tom Steptoe died on shipboard about 1784 or 1785 as he was returning from the East Indies, he was thought to be possessed of considerable property.

4. THE ALDERMAN

His business affairs being well established, William Lee began to turn his thoughts to politics, the first love of all the Lees. It was Arthur, however, who started the political ball rolling in London; William was to make his entrance a little later on. These were the days when Benjamin Franklin, as the agent for Massachusetts, was writing: "I can scarce conceive a King [George III] of better dispositions, or more exemplary virtues, or more truly desirous of promoting the welfare of all his subjects." Arthur Lee did not take that view of the situation, and it was Arthur who proved to be right. He proceeded to ally himself with John Wilkes, a political figure of the time. It turned out to be a most fortuitous connection, as far as the political careers of the two Lees were concerned.

This John Wilkes had attended the University of Leiden, spent a week in the Tower of London while a member of Parliament, fought a duel, and been declared an outlaw. After these experiences he was put in jail for about two years, fined a thousand pounds, and put on a seven-year probation. While spending his time in jail this remarkable man was regularly elected to Parliament and as regularly expelled. Then, at the height of the tumult, he was elected Alderman of London. Furthermore, in 1771 he served as Sheriff, and in 1774 he attained the full dignity of the Lord Mayoralty of London! While Wilkes' conversation was often sullied by profanity, he could suit it to his company; even the King was obliged to own that "Jack has the manners of a gentleman." He and the elegant Dr. Arthur Lee must have made a rare team. It was certainly an expedient one.

Arthur was deeply concerned at this time with injecting the grievances of the Colonies into London politics, and his accomplishments in this direction are generally recognized as a real achievement. He rendered great service in bringing the American cause to the attention of the English people through his writings as "Junius Americanus," and his *Monitor's Letters*, addressed to Congress, kept Americans informed of the situation abroad. He drew up the preamble and resolutions which embodied the political activity of the Bill of Rights party, wrote the address of thanks to Aldermen Crosby and Oliver for their opposition to the acts of the Commons, and even established himself in the good graces of the Chatham-Shelburne party, then going into a decline. Thus, through his alliance with Wilkes, and his own activities, Arthur Lee set the stage for William's political debut. He was not long in appearing.

In June of 1773 the Livery of London met in the Half Moon Tavern to consider the proper nomination for the Shrievalty. At that date the City of London had two sheriffs, elected annually to serve for one year. Usually they were selected from among the aldermen, but 1773 was no ordinary year. At this meeting Arthur Lee, in a speech reported by the *London Chronicle* as reflecting much honor on his head and heart, nominated Stephen Sayre, a product of what is now Princeton University, and Sayre was elected. A local luminary named Plomer was also chosen, but resigned a few days later. So, on July 3, 1773, the Livery reassembled to select another sheriff. None of the aldermen who were nominated evoked much enthusiasm. Then William Lee was proposed—"a known and approved friend of liberty," and not only was he elected, but he made a stirring speech. His career had begun. The remarkable thing was the fact that on or after Michaelmas Day the office of sheriff would be filled by two Americans, and the year was 1773.

While serving as sheriff, William Lee was invited to stand for alderman from the Cordwainers' Ward (July, 1774), and soon after retiring from office he received a similar compliment from Bridge Ward (October, 1774). These he declined, but in this same month he had the audacity to stand as a candidate from Southwark, and in November he canvassed Vintry Ward as a candidate for alderman. In these contests he was defeated, possibly due to Arthur's absence at the time in Italy. But the following year, 1775, was a great year in the life of William Lee. In January his wife presented him with

PLATES



Plate I. Colonel Richard Lee I



Plate II. Hancock Lee's Communion Cup
and John Lee's Pint Cup



HIC CONDITUR CORPUS RICHARDI LEE ARMIGERI
NATI IN VIRGINIA FFILII RICHARDI LEE GENEROSI EX
ANTIQUA FAMILIA IN MERTON REGIS IN COMITATU
SALOPIENSI ORIUNDI.

IN MAGISTRATUM OBEUNDO BONI PUBLICI STUDIOSSIMI
IN LITERIS GRAECIS & LATINIS & ALIJS HUMANIONIS
LITERATURAE DISCIPLINIS VERSATISSIMI
DEO QUEM SUMMA OBSERVANTIA SEMPER COLUIT ANIMAM
TRANQUILLUS REDDIDIT XII^{MO}. DIE MARTIJ ANNO
MDCCXIV. AETAT LXVIII.

HIC JUXTA SITUM EST CORPUS LAETITIAE EJUSDEM UXORIS
FIDAE FILIAE HENRICI CORBIN GENEROSI LIBERORUM
MATRIS AMANTISSIMAE PIETATE ERGA DEUM CHARITATE
ERGA EGENOS BENIGNITATE ERGA OMNES INSIGNES OBIIT
OCTOB. DIE VI MDCCVI AETATIS XLIX.

Here lyeth the body of RICHARD LEE Esq^r. born in
Virginia son of RICHARD LEE Gentleman descended of an
Antient family of Merton Regis in Shropshire while he
exercised the Office of a Magistrate he was a zealous
promoter of the Public good. He was very skillfull
in the Greek and Latin Languages and other parts
of Polite Learning He quietly resign'd his soul to God
whom he alwayes devoutly worshipped, the 12th. day
of March in the year 1714 in the 68 year of his age.
Here lyeth the body of Lettice his faithful wife a
most tender mother of her Children daughter of
Henry Corbin Gentleman, she was eminent for piety
towards God Charity towards the poor and kindness
towards all, she died the 6th. of 8ber. 1706 in the 49th.
year of her age.

Plate III. Inscription on Tombstone of Richard Lee II

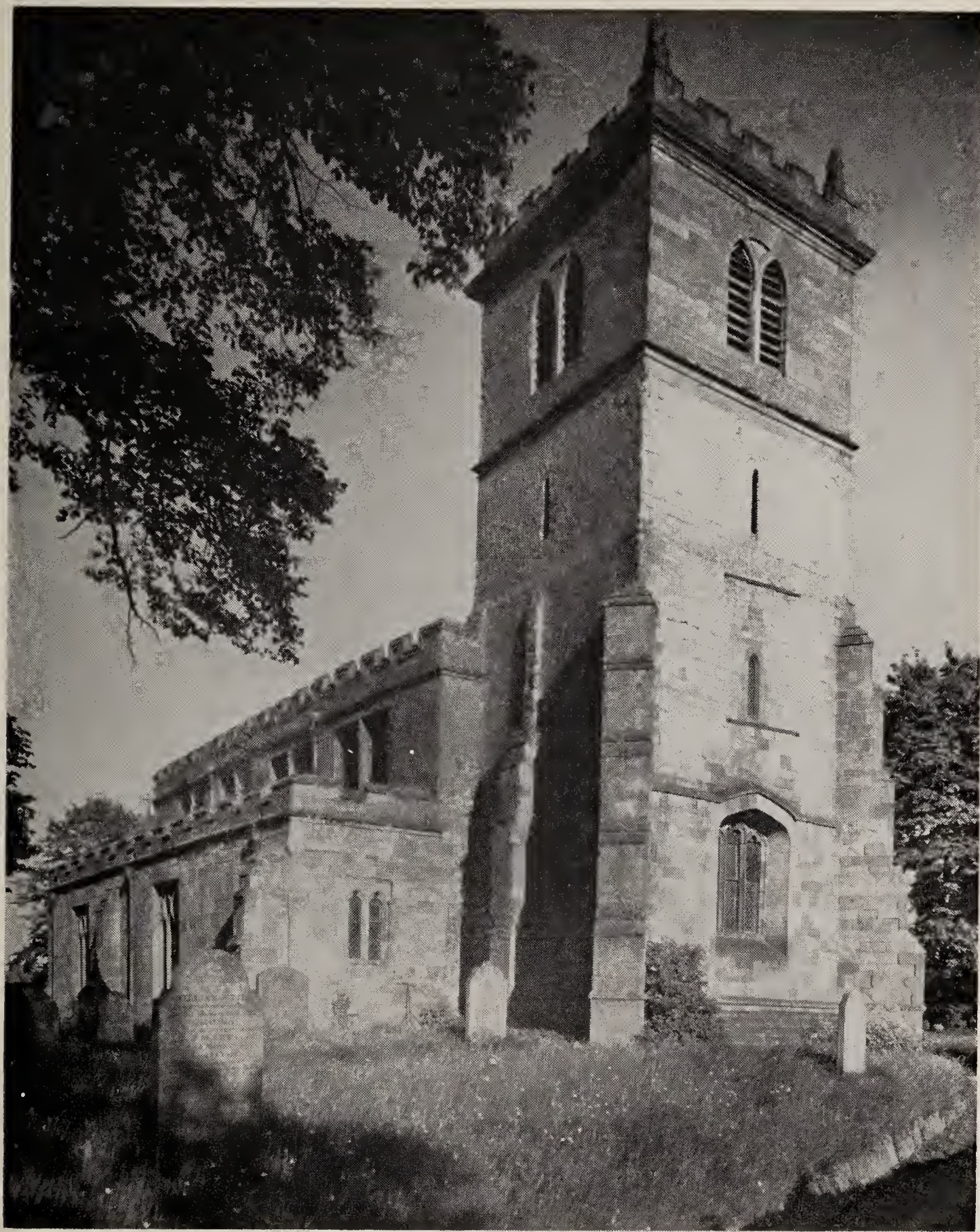


Plate IV. Alveley Church, Shropshire



Plate V. The Cobbs Hall Woodcarving of the Lee Arms



Plate VI. Philip Ludwell Lee's Bookplate



Plate VII. The Coton Hall Estate in Shropshire

Here are shown the ancient ruined chapel and the present mansion. This is the house Humphrey Lee built in Elizabethan times on the foundations of the medieval structure, with changes and additions made to it in the nineteenth century.

Colonel Richard Lee
(Son of Richard Lee) of Noddley Regis in
Shropshire died at Dividing Creeks in the Co
of Northumberland 12. March 1164 4th from old Lee
Charles youngest Son of Richard Lee and
his wife Anna, was born at Cobbs Hall May
21st in the year of our Lord 1655. Married
Elyza Mettand.

Charles 2nd Son of Charles Lee and his
wife Elyza born at Cobbs Hall July 16th in
the year of our Lord 1684. Married Beth
Pinchard.

Charles oldest Son of Charles Lee and
his wife Beth born at Cobbs Hall Nov
7th in the year of our Lord 1722. Married
Mary Steptoe Lee

Charles Son of Charles Lee and Mary
Steptoe Lee born at Cobbs Hall Mar 4th
in the year of our Lord, 1774. Married
Sarah Hull.

John P Lee Son of Charles and his
wife Sarah Hull Lee born at Cobbs
Hall Nov 14 in the year of our Lord 1776
1811 Married Susannah Warfield in 1811.
and moved to Baltimore Maryland.

Lee Bible Vol 3rd. 1770

Elizabeth Lee.



Plate IX. Ditchley



Photo by Virginia Chamber of Commerce

Plate X. Cobbs Hall

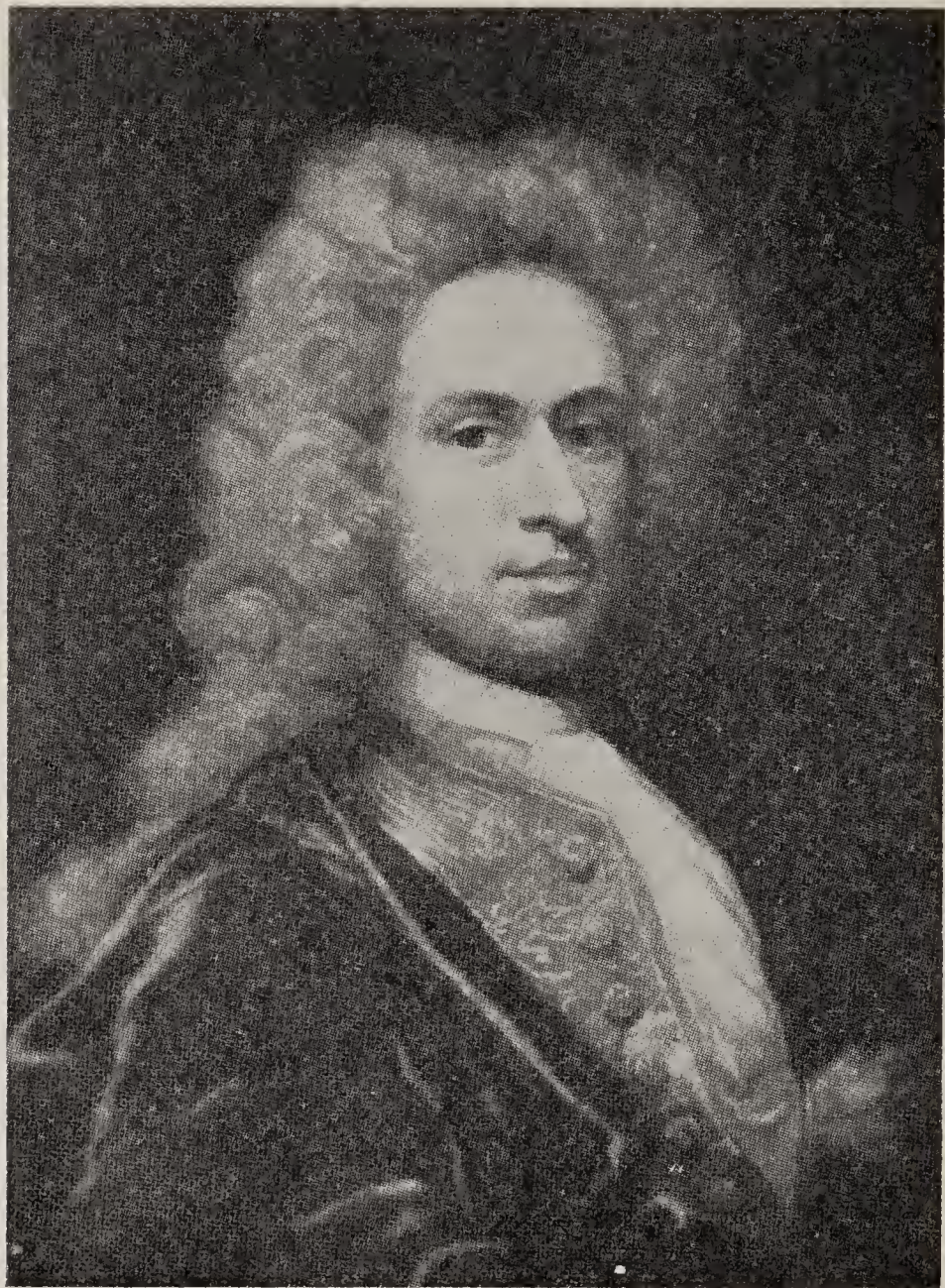


Plate XI. Colonel Thomas Lee



August 3, 1920



Photograph made during the restoration work in 1923

Plate XII. Tombstone of Richard Lee II (1920 and 1923)



Plate XIII. Tombstones of Richard Lee II and Thomas Lee (1932)



Plate XIV. Lee and Ludwell Monuments at Jamestown



Plate XV. The Burnt House Field Graveyard Restored (1933)



Plate XVI. Lansdowne



Plate XVII. Stratford Hall

Plate XVIII

Colonel Richard Lee

Mrs. Richard Lee

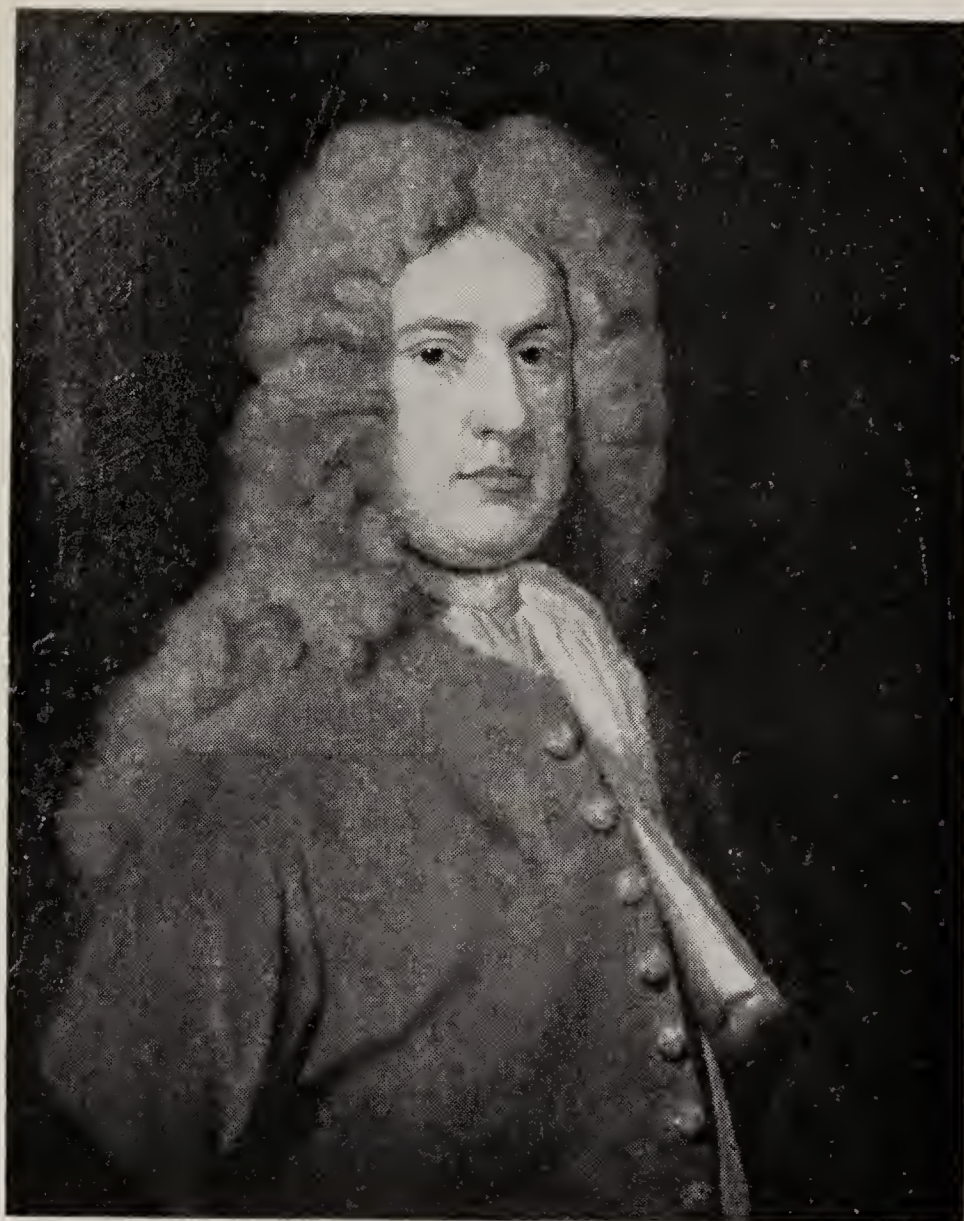




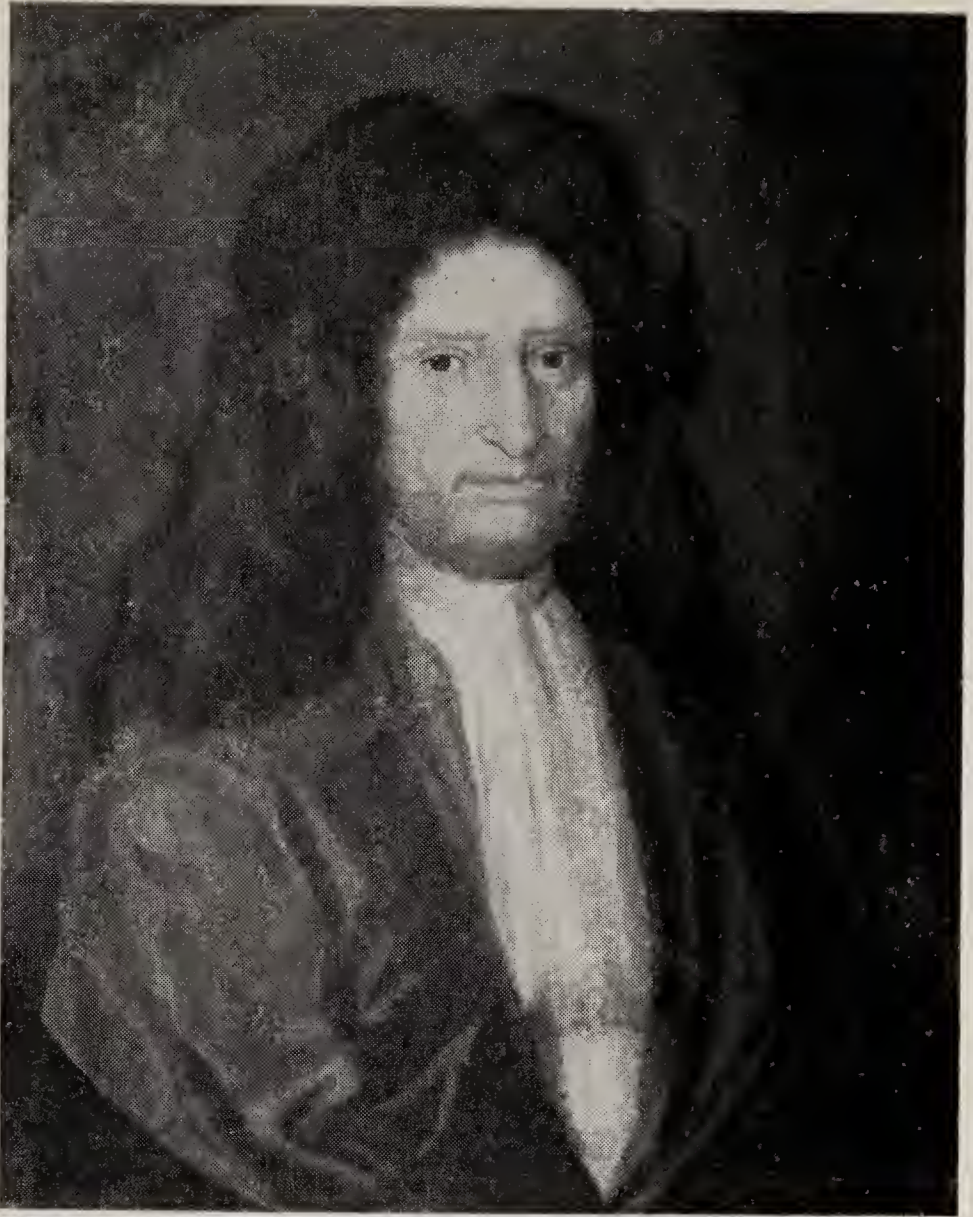
Plate XIX
Sir William Berkeley
Lady Berkeley



Plate XX

Richard Lee II

Mrs. Richard Lee II



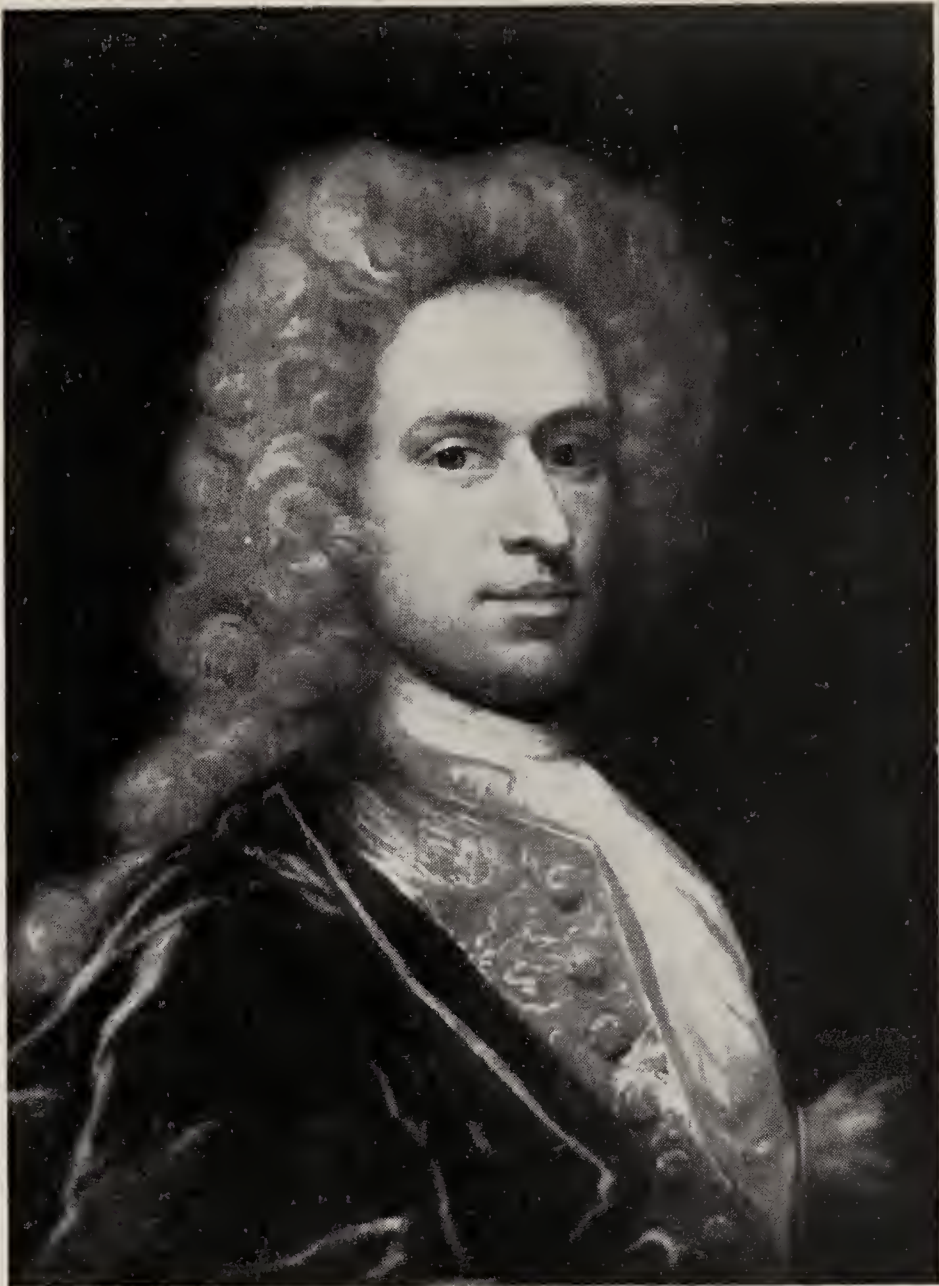


Plate XXI

Colonel Thomas Lee

Mrs. Thomas Lee



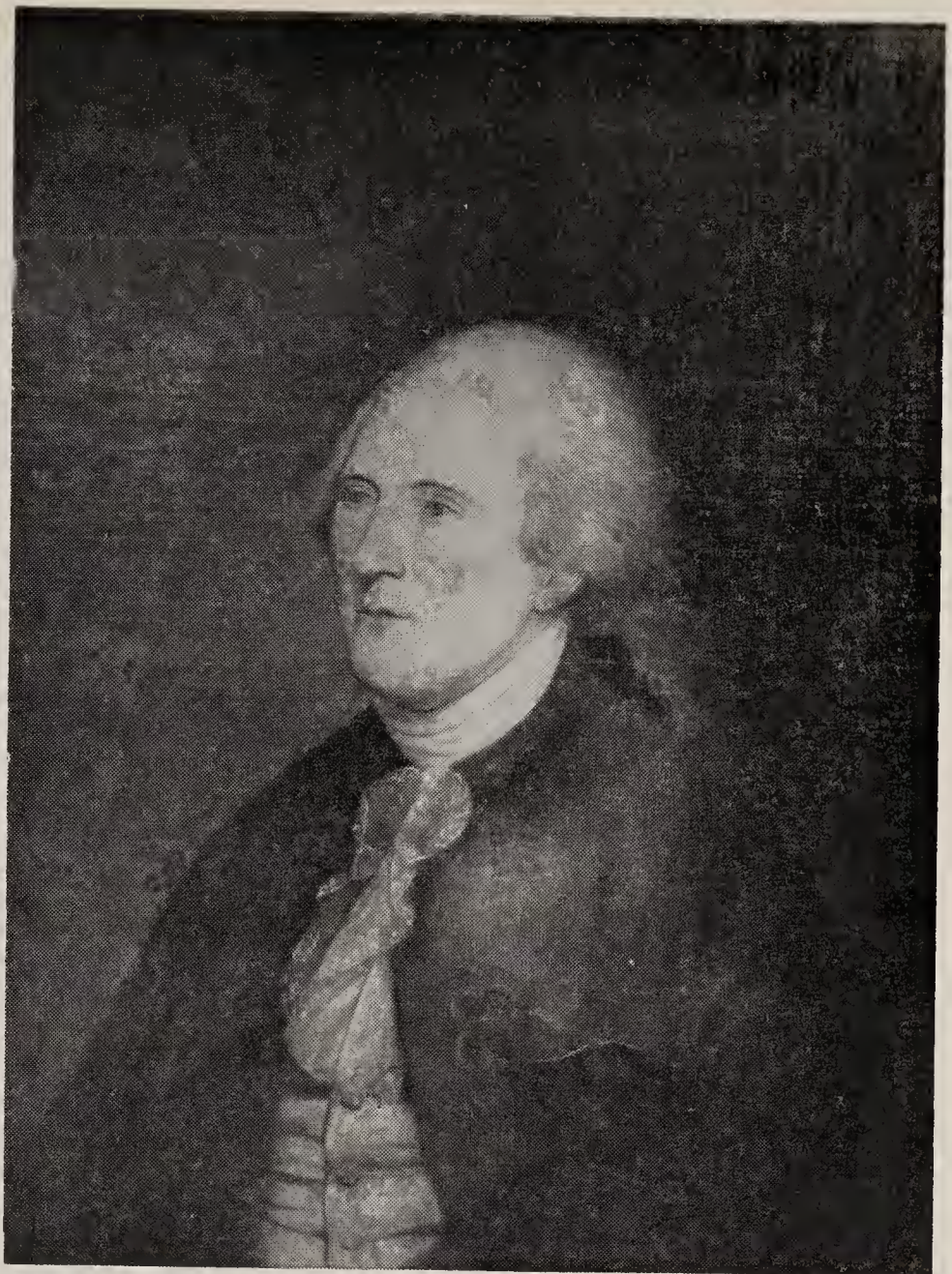
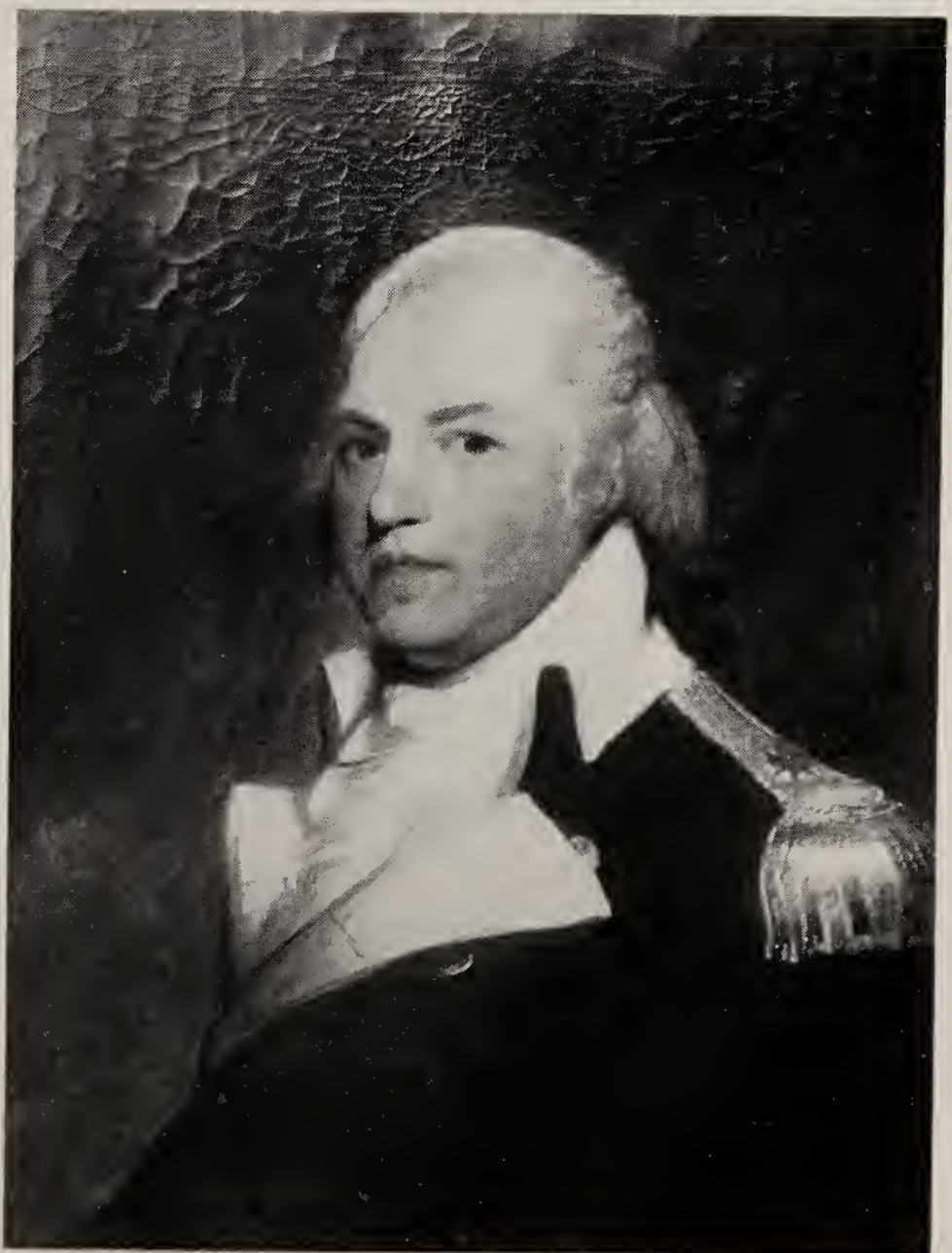


Plate XXII

Dr. Arthur Lee

General Henry Lee
(Light Horse Harry)



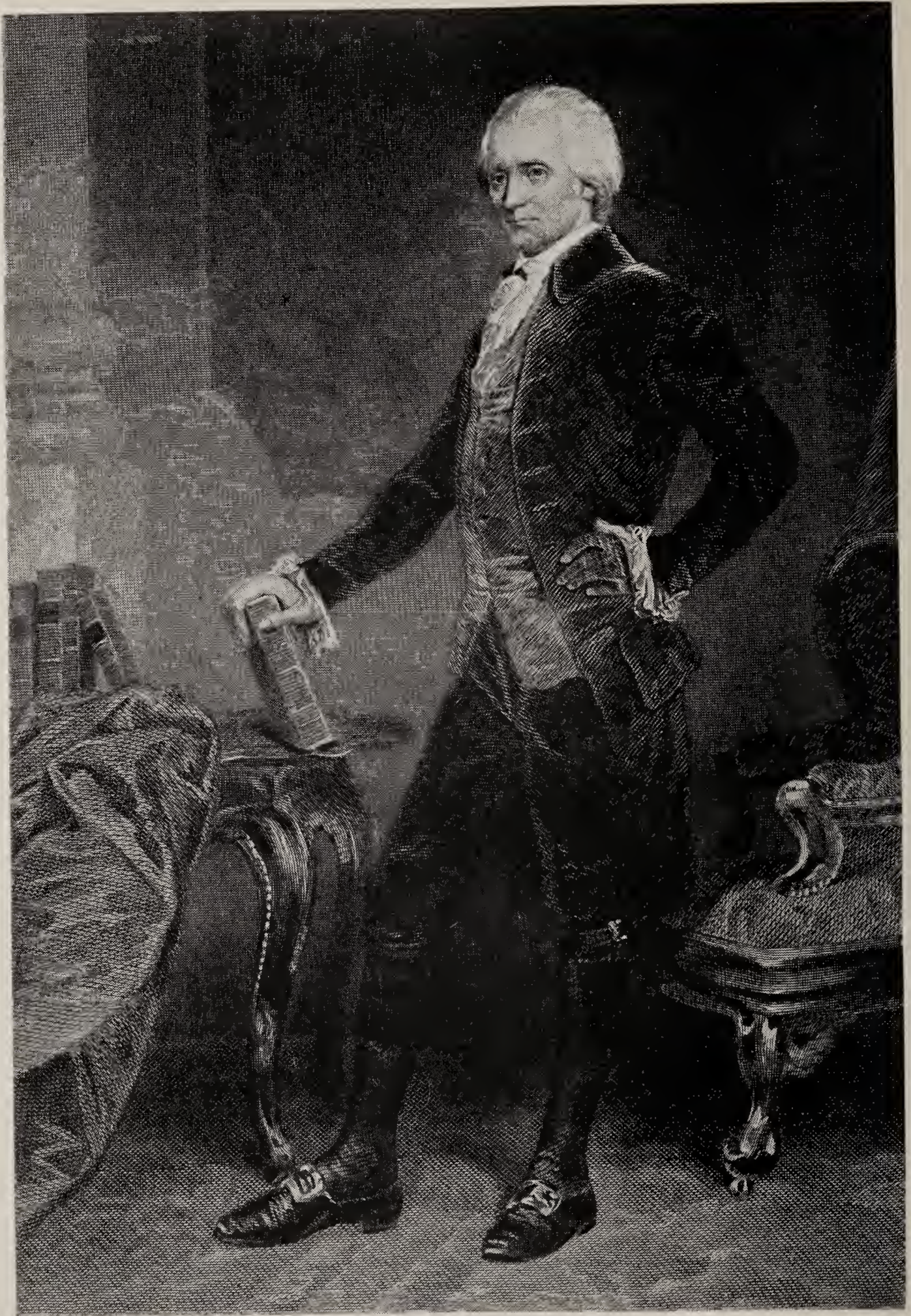


Plate XXIII. Richard Henry Lee

Roused by Danger and alarmed at Attempts foreign & domestic to
reduce the People of this Country to a State of abject and detestable Slavery
by destroying that free and happy constitution of Government under which
they have hitherto lived. We who subscribe this Paper have associated &
bound ourselves to each other to God and to our Country, by the firmest
Ties that Religion & Virtue can frame, most sacredly and punctually
to stand by and with our Lives & Fortunes to support, maintain and
defend each other in the Observation and Execution of these following
Articles.

First, we declare all our Allegiance and Obedience to our lawful
Sovereign George the third King of Great Britain. And we deter-
mine to the utmost of our Power to preserve the Lawes, the Peace and
good Order of this Colony as far as is consistent with the Preservation
of our Constitutional Rights and Liberty.

2^{dly} As we know it to be the Birthright Privilege of every British
Subject and of the People of Virginia as being such founded on
Reason and Compact that he cannot be legally tried but by
his Peers, and that he cannot be taxed but by Consent of a Parliament
in which he is represented by Persons who themselves pay a Part of
the Tax they impose on others. If therefore any Person or Persons
shall attempt by any Action or Proceeding to deprive this Colony
of those fundamental Rights we will immediately regard him or
them as the most dangerous Enemy of the Community, and we will go
to any Extremity not only to prevent the Success of such Attempts but
to originate and punish the Offender.

3^{dly} As the Stamp Act does absolutely except the Property of the People
to be taken from them without their Consent expressed by their Represen-
tatives, and as in many Cases it deprives the British American Sub-
ject of his Right to Trial by Jury: we do determine at any hazard
and paying no regard to Danger or to Death, we will exert every
Possibility to prevent the Execution of the said Stamp Act in any Part

whatsoever within this Colony. And every abandoned Wretch who shall be so lost to Justice and publick Good, as wickedly to contribute to the introduction, or favour of the Stamp Act in this Colony, by using the said Papers, or by any other Means; we will with the utmost Expedition convince all such Persecutors, that immediate danger and disgrace shall attend their proscrit Purpose.

4^{thly} That the last Article may most surely and effectually be executed, we engage to each other, that whenever it shall be known to any of this Association that any Person is conducting himself as to favor the Introduction of the Stamp Act, that immediate Notice shall be given to as many of the Association as possible, and that every Individual so informed shall with Expedition repair to a place of meeting to be appointed as near the Scene of Action as may be.

5^{thly} Each Association shall do his true endeavor to obtain as many Signers to this Association as he is able to get.

6^{thly} If any Attempt shall be made upon the Liberty or Property of any Association for any Action or Thing to be done in Consequence of this Agreement, we do most solemnly bind ourselves by the sacred Oaths and imprecations above recited unto, at the utmost risk of our Lives and Fortunes to preserve such Association to his Liberty, and to protect him in the enjoyment of his Property.

In Testimony of the good Faith with which we resolve to execute this Association, we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals this 1st day of February 1766 in Virginia.

Richard Henry Lee	Ⓢ	William Sydnor	Ⓢ
Wm. Robinson	Ⓢ	John Monroe	Ⓢ
Lewis Miller	Ⓢ	William Coke	Ⓢ
Thos. Lud. Lee	Ⓢ	Wm. Mays	Ⓢ
Samuel Washington	Ⓢ	Wm. Boakenbroun	Ⓢ
Charles Washington	Ⓢ		

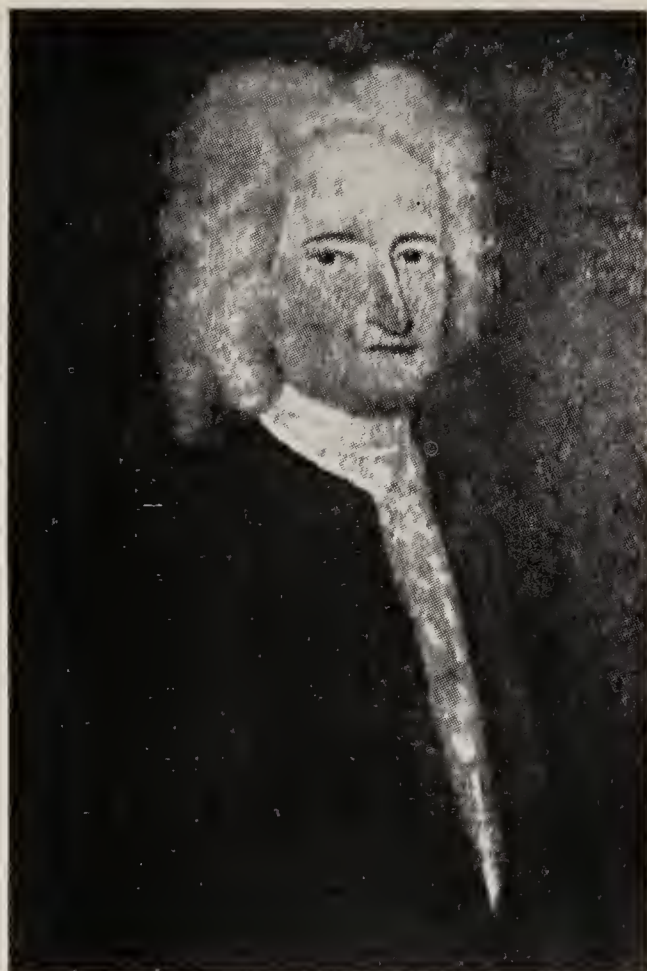
Plate XXIVb. Westmoreland Resolves [2]

Resolved ~~That~~
That these United Colonies are, and of
right ought to be, free and independent States, that
they are absolved from all allegiance to the British
Crown, and that all political connection between them
and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be,
totally dissolved.

Plate XXV. Facsimile of the Original Resolution for Independence
As offered by Richard Henry Lee on June 7, 1776. (The original paper
is preserved in the State Department Archives in Washington.)



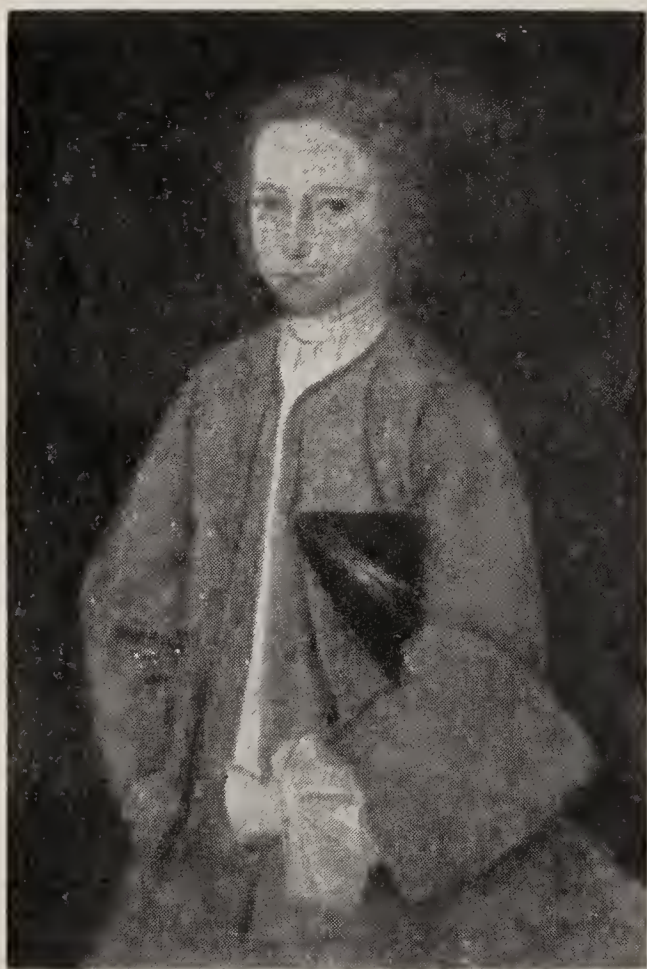
Plate XXVI. William Lee of Greenspring



Philip Ludwell I



Lady Berkeley



Philip Ludwell III



Hannah Ludwell

Plate XXVII. The Greenspring Portraits



Plate XXVIII. Peckatone

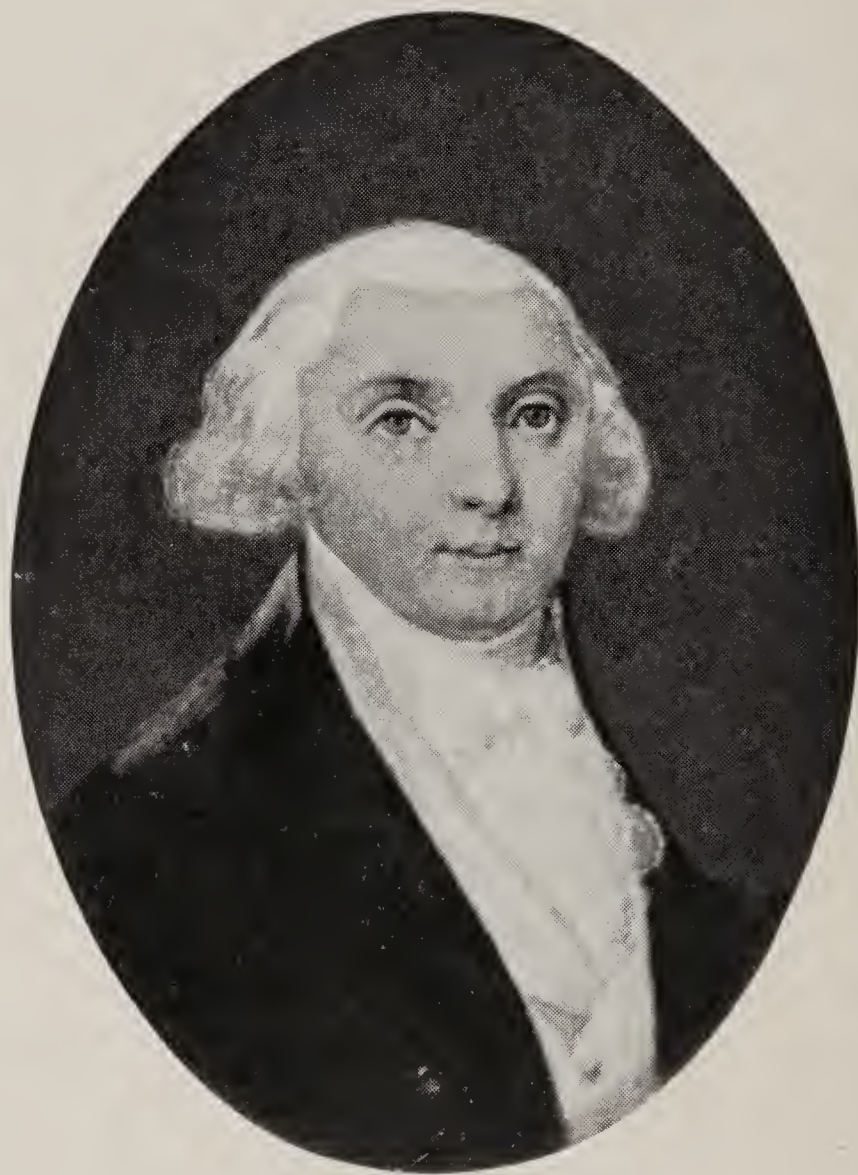


Plate XXIX. Hon. Ludwell Lee



Plate XXX. Stratford, East Steps (1927)

twin boys. One of these children died; the other grew up as William Ludwell Lee and himself died young. In the same month the merchants of London placed William on a committee to draw up a petition to the House of Commons regarding "the present unhappy disputes between the mother country and her colonies." The petition listed the acts which had disturbed the colonists, upset the commerce between England and America, and reacted on the trade and manufacture of the Kingdom, and asked for redress. A week later, on January 20, 1775, he heard Chatham's great speech on his resolution for removing troops from Boston, and in February William himself advised America to emancipate the slaves. This was 1775, nearly a hundred years before the Emancipation Proclamation. In April of the same year, as a member of the Mercantile Committee, he accompanied Wilkes, the Lord Mayor, to the throne. There the above-mentioned petition was presented to the King, who characterized it an "insolent production" but graciously received the delegation. William then sent Richard Henry Lee the pamphlet Arthur had recently written ("An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain in the Present Disputes with America"), and gave this older brother some very wholesome advice:

In my opinion, you have fully the means of success in your own power; and, we hope you will use them properly: but do not rely on any material assistance as from this country—depend upon your own exertions, and act like men, for the contest must now come to a final decision, and in my opinion, it will end in absolute Independence of the colonies on this country.

William was something of a prophet.

On May 23, 1775, one month after the Battle of Lexington, he was elected Alderman of Aldgate Ward, down by the Tower of London. An Alderman was a great man in the city; respected, widely known, the chosen representative of the electorate. The office was a distinguished one, held for life, and put the incumbent in line for the Lord Mayoralty. William Lee was the only American ever to be so honored. He was sworn in on June 14, and the Lord Mayor entertained him at a banquet.

The fact that William was a native of Britain's rebellious colonies and an outspoken advocate of the American cause makes his elec-

tion seem remarkable, considering the state of affairs then existing between his country and England, but the reason is plain. Not only was he well qualified in person, but the businessmen of London raised him up as a symbol of their own opinion that the home government was behaving badly towards their fellow Englishmen overseas. The businessmen were the same English freemen, jealous as the Americans of British rights and liberties, who had chosen Wilkes for Lord Mayor, himself an outspoken advocate of the American cause.

One month after he was sworn in, William Lee as Alderman accompanied this Lord Mayor to the foot of the throne to present another petition protesting the King's American policy. A copy of this document, which had been written by Arthur Lee, was sent to the American Congress, and in due course its thanks, composed by Richard Henry Lee, was received by those protestants.

The day before his visit to the Crown, William had directed some vigorous lines to this brother: "Now is the time to form a proper mode of internal government. . . . All religion should be tolerated . . . but none established."

These are the words of a statesman, and William was well on the way to statesmanship.

Chapter II

THE LETTER WRITER

I. EDUCATION OF YOUTH

WILLIAM LEE was particularly interested in the education of youth, and deemed an English education far superior to anything Virginia could offer. But he was to find the education of young relatives costly, and tells us that the London merchants were not inclined to assume charge of their Virginia kin sent to school in England, for they usually seemed to end by incurring the displeasure of either the parent or the boy, and sometimes both.

Having shipped Tom Steptoe off to India he turned his attention to a young kinsman in Edinburgh who had sought him out in an effort to secure relief from his financial worries. This lad was William Ball, a nephew of Squire Lee of Lee Hall through the marriage of the latter's sister to William Ball of Millenbeck in Lancaster County. Squire Lee was the son of Henry Lee and Mary Bland and a brother of the Colonel Henry Lee of Leesylvania who was Light Horse Harry's father. He was also evidently William Ball's guardian. William Lee sent this lad forty pounds and a letter of counsel undoubtedly based on Arthur Lee's experiences while a student at Edinburgh:

From the best information I can get, £100 p[er] a[nnum] is sufficient for a student at Edinburgh provided he is commonly frugal and attentive to his studies. . . .

William then pointed to "every artifice and incitement to engage young men in extravagance and expence" that the Scots were capable of devising. "Scotland," he added, "abounds with pretty women, but let me advise you never to take a wife out of your own Country, for the Ladys there make the best wives in the world."

Readers will do William a grave injustice should they assume "your own Country" to have meant America. Not at all. "Your own Country" was Virginia.

He then debited Squire Lee's account with forty pounds and wrote the master of Lee Hall to that effect, mentioning the matter casually at the end of a long business letter. Now Squire Lee was even more careful in money matters than William—in fact he was careful in all such things, regarding a wastage of ink as unpardonable. William marveled at the Squire's ability to cram 1,500 pounds of tobacco into one hogshead, thereby saving on the cost of freight as well as on the container. So notice of what he surely would regard as extravagance on the part of his nephew must have upset him considerably. The denouement is found in the next (and last) letter of William Lee to young Ball, in which a message from Squire Lee is enclosed:

I waited to give you an answer to your last favor of March 1st till I heard from your Uncle Richard Lee about the money I had advanced for you & now you have an extract from his Letter dated May 21, 1771: "My nephew left Virginia ye 31st of October 1769 . . . and from that time to 7 Jan 1771 he had rec^d from M^r Henderson £144; his estimate to me was £60 a year which I allowed him; he afterwards wanted £120 . . . with what he has rec^d from M^r Henderson & you he has in 13 m^{os} spent £184 . . . you must look to him for the money he has had from you, he has land at Corotoman." By this extract which you will readily perceive is your Uncles own style, it seems that he is much displeas'd with your expense. . . .

To add to William's problems, a new seeker after learning was even then on the way to this patron of learning. On June 17, 1771, Richard Henry Lee wrote from Virginia:

Our friend and kinsman John Turberville Esq^r has committed to your care a very important concern, the direction of his son's education. He relays greatly on your sensible and tender attention to this business.

George Lee Turberville presented himself and this letter on the first of August, at that time lacking one month of being eleven years old; he had crossed the Atlantic in the care of the ship's captain and arrived "in good health [and] fine spirits. . . ." William thereupon dispatched a letter home, outlining his plans for the boy's schooling:

I wrote you the 1st Instant p[er] the Emperour to Rap^k of your Son George's safe arrivall, he now Writes to you, his Mama, & Sister. I have determin'd to send him to Winchester the 12th Inst. & if I can possibly find time will go down myself, but as I expect the Liberty every Day, her coming will inevitably prevent me. . . . The Expense of the School and board at Winchester is £38 . . . 10 . . . Stg. p. Annum, Exclusive of Books, Cloaths, & Pocket Money, so that we may conclude from £60 to £70 p. Annum will be amply Sufficient while he continues at college. Gentlemen's Sons are usually allowed One Shilling a week for Pocket Money & it is what I intend to allow him; if you think it too much say so & y^r limitation shall be comply'd with. Your brother Geo. Fitzhugh tells me, he Cost his Father on an Average while he was at Eton near £100 Stg. p Annum. . . . Eton is not now in so good repute as Winchester.

The fact that George ultimately turned out rather well seems somewhat remarkable, in view of the turbulence of his school days while in England. Any chance he may have had of getting off to a good start in the graces of the Warden of Winchester was wrecked by the next letter from William Lee to that gentleman:

This will be deliver'd you by Mast^r G. Lee Turberville, whom I beg leave to recommend to y^r particular care, attention & direction. He comes down in the Winchester Coach & after informing you of his Father's intention in send^g him to your College, I must beg the favor of you to take the same measures with him, as you wou'd do with y^r own son. . . . You will find him a boy of good natural parts, but of strong passions, which aided by the indulgence of a fond mother, has made him a little unruly, therefore will require a steady & firm government. I have been told there are particular indulgencies granted in y^r College to all those related to the Founder, tho' ever so distant. If this is really the case, you will please to let me know it as soon as possible, that this young Gentleman may receive the benefit thereof as I apprehend he is of the founder's family, who was I think the famous William of Wickham.

There was more bad news for George in the next letter to the Warden, who, it would appear, had suggested that two trips to London a year would be nice for the youngster. However, the letter indicates that William had already found ten days of George's company enough.

As I think good Morals as necessary for his happyness & well being in Life as Learning, I am very desirous of having due Attention Paid to them, therefore cant help apprehending many mischiefs, from his coming to London . . . twice a year. I never knew youth to reap any advantage from their Visits to this place, even under the immediate controul of their Parent; if any Eligible Plan can be devised to keep him properly employ'd, I would not wish to see Master Turberville in London above Once in two Years at most.

Naturally, we are interested in learning how George made out. There is no evidence in any of William's letters, but a year after George made the acquaintance of the Warden, Richard Henry Lee let the cat out of the bag:

I am very glad to hear that Master Turberville is likely to mend, and I hope for this thorough alteration. I have not told his father the whole, but I have informed him that George has been wild and negligent, have recommended it to him to insist on peremtory and implicit obedience to Dr Lee and Dr Wharton, and by all means to withhold money from him, which the youth it seems has been strongly soliciting. All this he promises punctually to perform.

Despite these early difficulties George in 1776 became a member of Phi Beta Kappa at William and Mary College, served as a captain in the 15th Virginia Regiment in the same year, was aide-de-camp to Charles Lee in 1778, and held a similar position under Baron Steuben in 1781. He was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and made his home at Epping Forest.

The next candidates were Richard Henry Lee's own sons, Thomas and Ludwell. The matter of their education had been initiated on June 27, 1771, when William Lee, probably at their father's instigation, wrote to his friend, William Hicks of Whitehaven, for information regarding St. Bee's School, Warrington.

I want some information about the mode of education at St. Bee's & knowing no person more proper to apply to on that subject than yourself, I hope your goodness will excuse me for the trouble I am now about to give you. It will be a particular obligation on me to be informed as soon as convenient what the the present character of the school is for learning and morals; the Principal Masters name and reputation, every particular branch of Learning and accomplishment that are taught there with the annual expence for Boys from 12 to 15 Years of Age, and any further Information that you may think

necessary on that head: as I expect sometime next winter, a Young Gentleman or two will be sent over from America to my care for their Education & am desirous of knowing in time where that end can be best and cheapest obtain'd.

On the same day William wrote to the Warden of Winchester, Dr. Joseph Wharton:

I expect two young Gentlemen one ab^t 11, the other 14 or 15 years of age to be sent from Virginia some time next Winter under my care for their Education, for which end your College is recommended to me by Dr B. Porteus, one of his Majesty's Chaplins. . . . I have been told that there are some immunities granted in your Colledge to all of my Name, arising from some antient foundation, of this you will please also inform me.

The lengthy correspondence of William Lee with the Warden of Winchester College which grew out of these inquiries about the perquisites of descendants of William of Wickham constitutes one of the treasures of the Lee family of Virginia. The Dr. Porteus referred to was Beilby Porteus, son of Robert Porteus of Newbottle on the York River in Virginia, who later removed with his family to England. Beilby Porteus, who became Bishop of Chester and later of London, was related to the Lees through his mother, a daughter of Henry Corbin.

Three weeks after the above letter William was able to send Richard Henry the terms of Streatham School, and to state that at St. Bee's the expenses were £20 a year, and that an additional £10 would "decently cloath" a boy. "Dancing and Drawing" in the "Summer Season" would cost two guineas. He continues:

The Yorks schools are in no esteem. . . . I am far from thinking myself in the least qualified for such a Care & as our Br the Doctor & myself can by no means agree in our sentiments about the mode of Education, I wou'd wish you to consider whether it might not be better to send them if they are to be within the sphere of London, under his sole direction. . . . This is only hinted to show you that you may command me as much or as little as you please in this really interesting business, & that your Will, shall be my pleasure.

On July 12, in a long and interesting letter, Richard Henry Lee announced his plans for his sons:

Permit me now to engage your attention about a very tender concern. 'Tis the care of my dear Boys that I recommend to you with true parental warmth. Their welfare you may be sure is deeply at my heart. Great reflection, aided by observation, and my own experience, sufficiently convince me, that education is much cheaper obtained in England, than in any part of America, our own College excepted. But there, so little attention is paid either to the learning, or the morals of boys that I could never bring myself to think of William and Mary. . . . The sum beyond which I cannot afford now to go, is £ 30 sterling apiece for Board, clothing, and education. This sum either at St. Bees, at Warrington in Lancashire, or with the Gentleman near Bristol will certainly do, . . . Whichever of these will best answer the purpose of education, there I would have them sent without delay, because, at their time of life, they forget very quickly, and now, they are good scholars so far as they have gone.

He goes on to say:

I propose Thomas for the Church, and Ludwell for the Bar. A tolerable share of learning is requisite for either of these professions. About 15 years old Ludwell may be entered at one of the Inns of Court, and actually come there to study law at 18. So that he may return with the Gown at 21. We shall hereafter consider the cheapest, and fittest place for the eldest, until the time comes that he can be ordained. He is 14 years old next October and Ludwell 12 the same month. I am sorry the schools mentioned are so far removed from you, because I well know how they are apt to neglect boys at a distance. You will infinitely oblige me, by falling on the best possible plan to remedy this too common and pernicious evil. If some Gentleman living near the place, could be persuaded to observe how they may proceed, or when any of your acquaintance may be passing by the place, to call and enquire. But above all, frequently remind the Master of his duty, and know how often from the Boys themselves (for they can write well) how they go on, and what books they are reading. They have never yet learned Arithmetic. . . .

He concludes with these instructions:

I hope you will make the passage as light as possible, for in fact they have their own bed, and as much provision as they will or can eat during the voyage, so that their water, and the room they take up in the ship is all the expense they create. . . . You will readily see that my boys must be very frugally clothed. The plainest, to be decent, will please me much the best. They will want a plain cheap

furbishing up on their arrival. With 5 children and another, it may be two, on the Stocks, a small estate must part with nothing unnecessary.

This letter was written to go in the ship with the children. Richard Henry was obviously worried about expenses, for the question is frankly discussed and the need for economy emphasized. He himself had been educated in England and was somewhat fearful that the little boys might be neglected at the school. But nowhere did he show the slightest lack of confidence in them. He tells William that they are good scholars but adds that they have never yet learned arithmetic and that it "may be proper soon to have them entered in this branch." They were accompanied on the voyage by Alex Balmaine, their tutor at Chantilly, who was going home to England to take Holy Orders and return to Virginia a clergyman. William is told to introduce him to the Reverend Dr. Porteus, and to aid him in preparing for his "affair with the Bishop" (his ordination).

The letter contains some rather startling comparisons of English and American schools; Richard Henry does not seem to have held a very high opinion of William and Mary College.

The boys sailed away with Mr. Balmaine in their Uncle William's ship, the *Liberty*, loaded with tobacco. They must have reached London late in September (this was 1772), and after resting a few days they continued their journey to St. Bees, near Whitehaven, Cumberland. Among the Lee papers in the Virginia Historical Society is a letter from William to the boys' father, dated November 18, 1772, from which it is learned that Arthur Lee personally conducted them to the school. There the kindly William Hicks could keep an eye on them and forward their expense accounts to their Uncle William. They found that St. Bees is a cape where the Solway Firth joins the Irish Sea. On a clear day they could see the hills of Scotland to the north and the Isle of Man to the west. It was the latitude of Hudson Bay, and quite different from the climate of Virginia. Their father had had word of their safe arrival when he wrote on January 15, 1773: "I am glad my little boys are safe and that they please you."

Nothing is known of them in the next two and a half years, until William sent this message home: "Our boys are well at St. Bees. a few daies ago & you may rely on my care of them as long as I can take care of myself." Late in that year he sent them a long letter of counsel and advice:

London 30 Dec^r '75

Masters Thomas and Ludwell Lee

My dear Boys!

I have rec^d Thom^s Letter of the 17th and am glad to hear that you have recover^d from the Cold which I believe was universal thro' England 'tho not dangerous. It is strange that neither of you have learn'd French yet. Is there no French Master at St. Bees? If there is, desire M^r Scot to let you begin to learn it after the holy dais. Besides Greek and Latin I w^d have you learn French Arithmetic Mathematicks, writing & dancing also taking care to read once a day some good English Book such as the Spectator, Locke on Government, Hollins Ancient & Roman History, & Rappins History of England. I am sure you have both too much sense to regret the time which is spent in obtaining learning & knowledge, remember always that until you are 20 or 21 Years old at least, you must be laying in a stock of learning that is to last you, your whole lives. M^r Hicks will give each of you 2/6 this vacation, which I have no doubt you will employ properly; he writes me that Thom^s had all the Tradesmens bills for your expences to get 3 Copies of them and rec^{ts}, one Copy for me, one Copy for M^r Hicks and the other for your Father, I hope Thom: has not forgot them. I desire he will always remember to have 3 Copies of the Bills made out after every vacation. You have enclosed a printed paper, which contains a passage in Latin taken from the Magna Charter of England, I desire you will both of you send me separately your Translation of it into English, & that you will also imprint it so strongly into your memories that it may never be erased. Our wicked Ministers seem determin'd to ruin this Country & America together for they have by an Act of Parliat^t just pass'd forbid any Vessel to go to or come from the greatest part of America, unless it is such as the Ministry send with Troops; so that we cant hear from our Friends there nor can they hear from us for some Years. Surely the allwise & just ruler will in good time bring to their due fate the infamous advisors of such wicked measures. You sh'd both write to your Uncle Arthur. Your Aunt and little Cousins are both well & join &c.

Several months later, on May 22, 1776, this welcome report was sent off to their father: "Your sons are well & highly esteemed by all who know them; as long as my finances will admit they shall be taken care of."

The letter books show no more letters to the boys until June 14,

when the correspondence continues where it left off in December of the previous year:

I have rec^d a letter from each of you which [this] is to ans^r: It appears to me you cannot make any progress in the French Language by going to Whitehaven once a week to learn it, therefore we must wait a little longer to compleat that point. I have wrote to M^r Hicks to give each of you 2/6 these hollidais for pocket money if you desire it which I hope you have done; his Letter you will send to Whitehaven as soon as you can.

On Christmas Day, 1776, Arthur Lee sent this message from France to Richard Henry Lee: "I have sent for your sons hither." This meant that, because of the war, William Lee was no longer able to support them. In 1777 they were with their Uncle Arthur in France and William Lee soon followed. A year later Arthur was financing Ludwell while William cared for Tom. It was at this time that the latter's career was changed from minister to merchant, or, as his father expressed it, "from church to commerce," while Ludwell's curriculum was broadened to include "eloquence and the principles of natural law," with "military matters" for recreation, in order "that he may here turn either to war or to the land." In 1780 (August 30), a letter, now in the Shippen Collection, gives news of their return to America with Arthur Lee, the retiring plenipotentiary:

My dear Son:

I have the pleasure to inform you that your Uncle Arthur is ar[rived at] Boston & your two cousins Tom and L[udwell] in the Alliance frigate. . . .

W. Shippen Jr.

2. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

William Lee's relations with a variety of individuals are revealed by his letter books. We have noted his solicitude for his nephews and other young kinsmen; let us now see how he got along with his own brothers and sisters.

As far as the sisters are concerned, there are only two letters to Hannah and none to Alice. William was a witness at the latter's marriage in 1762 and probably saw her later at her home in Philadelphia before his departure for England to live, but if so, there

is no record of it. In a letter to Hannah Lee Corbin William tells her that it is a pleasure to serve "one who has so great a share of my affection as you have," and expresses the hope that she will ship him some of her tobacco. But Hannah did nothing of the kind. Whereupon William wrote to Frank Lee: "This year I hope M^{rs} Corbin will either ship Tobacco or pay for the chair." Hannah did not like or trust William's ship captain, James Walker, who was a Virginian and her neighbor. William was to find that she was right, for Walker appears to better advantage in the pages of Fithian's *Journal* than he does in William's letter books.

Of the five brothers, we look first at Arthur, William's lifelong companion and friend. Their close relationship is manifest in business, politics, social life, and family affairs. In London they were actually nearer neighbors than were their brothers at Stratford and Chantilly in Virginia. Arthur resided at No. 4 Essex Court, Middle Temple. There, in chambers overlooking a delightful little garden on the Thames, he passed what were probably the happiest years of his life, and wrought some of his greatest services to his country. A walk of about a mile brought him to William's house on Tower Hill, where he seems to have been a frequent visitor. The letter books disclose that he was also a recurrent guest at the Ipswich house; that he made a tour of Wales; was busy at Westminster Hall; was at one time extremely ill; differed with William on the proper mode of educating boys; renounced the practice of medicine for the study of law; and took a trip to Italy. We also learn that although he had at one time believed that £200 per annum would support him, he came to think that £600 would more nearly take care of his needs.

William Lee also showed great fondness for his brother Frank. It was to him that he wrote: "I shall be doubly bound to you forever." This brother served him with loyal and unselfish devotion in his difficult task of establishing a tobacco business and seems to have been the one man in Virginia who insisted on having a balance of funds in William's hands. All the others were constantly overdrawn. In commenting on this sad condition William gratefully remarked that "while I have a shilling, you shall have Six Pence," and added these words:

The pains you have taken to serve me call for my warmest acknowledgements & indeed if I know myself, I shall always esteem y^r Friendship as one of the greatest blessings of my life . . . M^{rs} Lee's love and mine attend both you & our dear Sister in all stations & in all seasons. Heaven bless you farewell.

This was written about two years after these men had parted, but much of this affection had been implanted in William's heart before he left Stratford. Another letter, written in December, 1769, shows his appreciation of this brother's ability, before it was recognized nationally:

I am happy that you have fully recover'd from so dangerous an illness and that you have again undertaken to serve your Country in this critical time: so much good sense and true merit shou'd not lie dormant when America stands in such need of all her patriot sons.

This was the year they both married, and Frank Lee had moved from Loudoun to Richmond County. William's toast to him and his bride on moving into their new home has already been quoted. It was followed a few weeks later by the blunt question: "What's the name of your house?" Another item appears about this time: "I shall say no more about the Liberty's dispatch than that I am satisfied you have done your Part as a faithful friend & that our Brother R. H. Lee & the Squire have done theirs also." The omission of the name of Philip Ludwell Lee is ominous.

William changed his tone somewhat in the next letter:

I am afraid the violent spell you had sometime ago, has left a weakness behind, for there does not seem to be in your last letter that same cheerfulness & spirit, for which you were once remarkable, or pray, has Matrimony tam'd your Worship: However let me have no more desponding letters.

The times changed, more serious business engrossed both men, and the inevitable complaint appeared: "I have not rec'd a line from you for near 12 months." But even these few letters have served to introduce us to an almost unknown Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

In spite of Richard Henry Lee's many public duties he found time to act as executor, administrator, guardian, and adviser in a multitude

of cases where his brothers and kinsmen were in difficulties. There are many letters from him to William and from William in reply. A deep mutual affection existed between them, and many evidences of it appear in their correspondence. Richard Henry had an ambition to sit in the Council; William promised to do what he could, and did. He tells this brother of the obstacles to his obtaining this goal, one of which was none other than their brother Arthur, who had many political enemies. William hoped that the Ministry was unaware of any kinship between the two.

They performed other services for each other from time to time. William ordered a monument to the memory of Richard Henry's first wife, Anne Aylett. Richard had a plan for establishing what he called a "glass house," where window glass and bottles would be made; William was asked to gather information for him on the methods and costs of manufacturing, and Arthur was instructed to inquire into this subject on his travels around the kingdom. The kindness shown Richard Henry's two boys during the long years of the war, when they were cut off from home and money was scarce, was also something not to be forgotten.

At one period in June, 1771, Richard Henry wrote to William on the 4th, 7th, 11th, 15th, and 19th. He sent him live partridges and ducks, shipped him tobacco, and recommended Alex Balmaine to him. At the time of his election as Sheriff of London he tendered congratulations tempered with some good advice. There is also long, detailed correspondence on the subject of Greenspring. This property comprised 7,003 acres, 164 Negroes, 217 head of cattle, 190 head of sheep, 17 horses, two lots in Jamestown, and three houses in Williamsburg,⁵ altogether valued at £15,000, before inflation. The British depredations in 1781 cost William sixty head of cattle, plus the damage done to Greenspring plantation by virtue of its being the scene of a well-fought battle.

The last shipment of tobacco to leave Stratford prior to the Revolution was placed aboard the *Adventure* during the latter part of May, 1775. It was consigned to William Lee in London by order of Richard Henry Lee, administrator of the estate of Philip Ludwell Lee, by then deceased. Busy as he was in Congress Richard Lee found time to write his usual clear instructions:

The proceeds of these 22 hhds are to be applied to the use of our brother Doctor Lee. 15 of them are Top stem'd heavy hhds. So that you may advance the Doctor at least 200 Guineas on the whole.

The letter, dated May 10, also contained this information: "In an hour all from the Colonies north of this will be here, and then the Congress will be opened." That Congress was to receive the news of the Battle of Lexington, and later, of the capture of Ticonderoga. During its session Richard Henry would draw up the commission for George Washington as Commander-in-Chief, and would write the thanks of Congress to the Lord Mayor of London for the latter's virtuous protest to the Ministry on behalf of the colonies, a protest which had been authored by Arthur Lee.

To Richard's letter about the tobacco William made this cautious reply: "Our late B^{rs} Tob shall be apply'd as you direct . . ." He was using only the most guarded language in those days, as he had no wish to become a guest of the King in the Tower of London. The two hundred guineas from the sale of this tobacco supported Arthur Lee during those trying months when he was negotiating with Beaumarchais for funds from France. This money from the French government loaded three ships with the arms and ammunition which won for us the Battle of Saratoga. The shipment of tobacco from Stratford was a good investment.

William's first reference to his brother, Thomas Ludwell Lee, is contained in a letter from Ipswich in 1769, addressed to Anthony Stewart, a merchant of Annapolis. William was on very friendly terms with the Stewarts and was godfather to one of their sons.

You remember when I sold my B^r Thom^s Negroes at Rock Creek, I gave bills of Sale for them, & you also became surety to the buyers for y^e Title: in y^s we as well as the buyers were to be made secure against any future claim of my brothers heirs, or heir at law by his docking the entail of all his lands in Stafford, by a writ of ad quod Damnum, &c settleing them & all his other land in Stafford, by deed executed in his life time, (in truth according to his promise 'twas to be executed immediately) on his heir or heirs entail, in lieu of y^e Negroes yⁿ sold. Now as some of those Negroes were entailed & knowing my B^{rs} extreme indolence, especially in affairs y^t require

some little trouble, I beg you will write repeatedly to him, Rich^d Henry & Franc Lee to have this matter settled as it sh^d be immediately—consider [that] his life is very precarious & sh^d he die before the land is made guaranty for y^e Negroes, the purchasers may expect us to indemnify them, for the Negroes & their encrease, w^{ch} in a few years may amount to the value of several thousand pounds. I wanted much to have it settled before I left Virg^a but his delays & my being much pres'd with a multiplicity of other business prevented it. Last winter I wrote to my B^r Frank to push him to compleat it as quickly as possible according to his repeated and sacred promises to me, but he does not write me a word about it.

William's comments on Thomas Ludwell's indolence and dilatory nature do not preclude there being real affection between them, yet the next lines leave the impression that no very close ties were maintained. William by that time (January 19, 1770) had been living abroad about a year and a half.

Tho' 'tis now above 18 months since we had the happiness of being together, neither the Doctor or myself have been favor'd with one line from you, and had it not been for others, we shou'd not have known whether you had been alive or not, for the future I hope you will find time, once a year at least, to let us know, how you, our Dear Sister and the little ones are in health &c.

Bellview, Thomas' home in Stafford, was probably one of the last stopping places before William and Arthur left for Europe. Thomas was evidently in poor health, judging by William's remarks to Richard Henry Lee, dated July, 1770:

Both your Favors of Mar: 30 and Apr: the 9th are come to hand, y^e first, as indeed you always are, is very full, explicit & satisfactory, upon receiving a letter f^m M^r Nicholas of y^e 28 of Dec^r [1769] where he says my B^r T. L. L. sickness and y^r being worried with the length & fatigue of the session carry'd you both away w^{ch} prevented the division being made before X^tmass . . .

William was capable of speaking plainly when the occasion demanded, and addressed this fiery message to Thomas Ludwell Lee at one such time:

The news of the day is hardly worth writing, neither do I think you that have so quietly submitted to bow down to the arbitrary

rule of such a pitiful fellow as L^d H[illsborou]gh have a right to be anxious about what passes here or anywhere. You have agreed to be Slaves and Slaves you must be. You are not worthy of Liberty, who dare not to be free.

Lord Hillsborough was the British Secretary of State, who advocated suspending all the legislative bodies of the colonies unless they voted according to his dictation.

When Philip Ludwell Lee became master of Stratford at his father's death he also assumed control of the inheritance of his younger brothers. Thomas Lee left these younger children certain legacies which apparently were never paid in full. The bad feeling which ensued as a result is reflected to an increasing degree in William's letters to this brother.

His first message to Philip Lee after his arrival in London carried the date of December 5, 1769: "As you are so good as to promise me your assistance, I have determin'd to send a Ship from 3 to 400 hhds to your address, as you desire." He then tells of the formation of a partnership with DeBerdt and Sayre, and adds:

I . . . flatter myself that the regard you have for me and the great merit the above Gentlemen have in being almost the only real Friends to America amongst all the American Mercht^s at this time of her great constitutional contest with this Country will induce you to exert that influence you have so successfully employed on many occasions to promote our interests.

At this time relations were still friendly. But a month later we find a change in William, in this indignant communication:

I have been surpris'd with a Draft of D^r Shippen's on me for £228—this I cou'd not expect after what you wrote me some time ago, and therefore Protested it . . . Tis certainly very hard on me to be subject to such demands, when I am sure it has been frequently in your power to settle it finally, I entreat you to consider this thing, and write to the D^r in so proper a manner (you understand me) that I may hear no more about it.

In April of 1770 William agreed to handle Philip's appeal against a judgment obtained by the Hanburys, a London firm. Then he

harked back to Dr. Shippen's draft on him, which seems to have been a sore subject:

I am sure you must be satisfied it is not my desire to distress you. Let £228 be paid to D^r Shippen first & yⁿ whatever you can spare me will be most acceptable for £1000 now will be of more use to me yⁿ £5000 seven years hence. The D^r [he is referring now to Dr. Arthur Lee] has resign'd the practice of Physic & enter'd at Lincoln's Inn to study Law. He is determin'd in y^s therefore will want 200 p^r ann: to support him; w^{ch} if you will engage to do, beginning next X^tmass I can almost answer (without leave) y^t he will be satisfied & y^s you must think very reasonable.

Only two months after this William wrote his elder brother in great distress:

Since My last by y^e death of old M^r DeBerdt I have been obliged to take the Ship Liberty & y^e whole adventure on myself y^s will render money so absolutely necessary that unless you make me a considerable remittance at least £1000, I shall really not know what to do. Therefore let me entreat you to stand firmly by me at this most critical Time & let me have the money by Walker whom I hope you will assist with all y^r appeal.

But there is no record of Philip's coming to his rescue with any money. For three long months, while William struggled with his problems, no letters to Virginia appear in his letter books. Then he wrote to Richard Henry:

F^m y^s prospect of things you will readily see my necessity of urging Col Phil for money, who notwithstanding his plans & profession you know his dilatoriness & besides in his last letters he does not say a word ab^t any remittance; 't wou'd certainly be as right for me to have the use of his money if I had no demand on him, as Molleson who I am told says he has £900 of Col Phills in his hands I have no fear of getting what money may be wanted for the purpose of honest industry & trade; But the most distant hint of this sh^d not be given to Col Phill who w^d immediately build ten thousand castles in the air.

William then handed a bouquet to Squire Lee of Lee Hall, who seems to have had no scruples about drawing on him for more money, when he already owed him a goodly amount:

The Squire is still in his old way & surely the best Draft man in Virg^a; he has already drawn on me for £80 tho' he owed me more than that sum and talks of endorsing more bills.

The good ship *Liberty* arrived at Dover on September 3, 1770, and William wrote to Frank Lee:

As to Col Phil I give him up, & shall certainly order suit to be commenced immediately against him for my money & if it will not be disagreeable to you please to inform him f^m me that he must apply to some one else to take care of his appeal agst Hanbury. Those who taste the sweets of his business must swallow the bitters also. Two paltry rent hds are all he has sent me.

William's dander was up, and rightly so. In November he sent his ship back to the Potomac and with it went a tart message to Philip:

Those who really mean to serve me act very injudiciously by keeping their Tob^o since every day the Ship is detain'd costs me three pounds. Cap Walker now goes out to Load the Liberty for me in Potomac, & if she is dispatch'd in March, as she surely may, I do not fear returning as good Acct^s of Sales as any one, but for God's sake if you do assist me, I beg you will let the Cap^t have your Tob^o as soon as he arrives. You know my necessities for money and certainly to be twelve years out of the small pittance which my Father left me, without even common Interest for it, while you have been indulging in affluence, & I procuring my bread with the sweat of my brow, is surely hard enough, and it is time to put an end to it. If you are determin'd not to lend me any support, to live by my industry, you can't with any reason object to let me have my money, therefore if one or the other is not done this year, I must of necessity do, what is as disagreeable to me as it can be to you, and perhaps in the end it may be of service to you, since it will compel the others to a settlement, which you, say, you have never been able to do.

William then informed Richard Henry Lee of the action he had taken, and concluded his letter to this devoted brother with an expression of appreciation:

Your affectionate support and my Br F. L. Lee's steady attachment shall never be forgot, and it may be in my power sometimes or other to make you a proper return. The Squire too has been truly friendly.

At about the same time he inscribed a note to Frank Lee. He used strong words, for his patience had run out, and he was ready to enter suit against Philip Lee:

Col^o Phil might be of much service . . . but I expect little from him, however he must either ship me Tob^o or pay me my money, and shou'd not he ship I am determin'd to bring suit against him immediately, in which case you will oblige me much in mentioning what Attorney you think wou'd be best for me to engage for that business, who is diligent, honest, and not to be frighten'd by Col^o Phils menaces, and skilful enough to defeat his Chicanery.

William seems to have obtained partial settlement, but full payment was never made. A long letter to Richard Henry, written much later when he was in Brussels, goes into the matter in detail:

Bruxelles, 1st, October, 1782.

You ask me in your favor of the 18th, of last July, whether I have any written or verbal assumption from our late Br., Col. P. L. Lee, to pay all our Father's money Legacies. In reply I must answer that I have not, and for my part, I never asked, nor would I ever have accepted of any such from him alone. Equal Justice however calls some one to declare, what I shall be always ready to testify on Oath when call'd upon, viz, that I have never applyed to anybody for the payment of what was due to me and my sister agreeable to her regular assignment under the Will of our Father, but to our Br., P. L. Lee, for these reasons—first, he was the Sole acting Executor of Administration, therefore he was the only regularly legal Person for me to apply to, and from him only did I ever receive any partial payments, a full payment not being made at this day. Secondly—Having had full access for years to, and made repeated examination of, all the Books, Bonds, Notes and Accounts and papers that my father left at his Death, I always found that there was much more money due to my Father's Estate in G. B. and America than was amply sufficient to pay all the Debt due from the Estate and all the pecuniary Legacies or Devices in my Father's Will; and of my own personal knowledge, I can declare that our Br., P. L. Lee, as Executor to our Father, received almost the whole that was due to him at the time of his Death by Bond, Note, Account, &c., except some very trifling and insignificant sums indeed, and a demand against Mr. Fitzgerald, a merchant in London, who has long since become

a Bankrupt, tho' many years after my Father's death; but this demand I never took into Account as a good debt. Thirdly, the produce of the whole of my Father's estate for the years 1750, 1751, 1752, and I believe, of 1753, also was received by our late Br., P. L. Lee, and as to myself I can declare that the whole expended on me for my Education and Cloathing from November 1750, when my Father dyed, to September 1758, when I came of age, did not Amount to 50 £ Sterling; besides that, for the three last years I acted for my Brother, as his Clerk-Steward and principal manager of his whole Estate, for which in Justice he ought to have allowed me a Salary of 30 or 40 £ Sterling per annum, exclusive of my maintenance.

For these last two reasons therefore, I always thought it just that our brother P. L. Lee should pay the whole of our Father's Pecuniary Legacies or Devises out of that part of his Estate, which he solely received and enjoyed. I have only to add, that I earnestly request of you to have the Account I lately transmitted to our brother F. L. Lee, against my Father's Estate settled and put in a way of payment immediately; otherwise the Duty I owe my Family will compel me to institute suit directly in order to bring the affair to a conclusion. On this head let me beg for your answer as soon as possible, and by various conveyances.

Although William held Philip in something less than the affectionate regard shown for his other brothers,⁶ the last letter to be addressed to him is written in a friendly vein, except for the conclusion, which contains a sharp dig. William was forwarding nothing more from London without being assured of payment in advance.

September 1771

I sent you some Lemons by Capⁿ Montgomerie, which I am afraid never came to hand, as you do not mention them. It gives me pleasure to find that my Dear Matilda has got so good a Tutor as M^r Leonard to whom pray present my Compt^s & tell him when the Gentlemen on Pot^o consign me 500 hhds of Tob^o a Year I then may afford to send the Music you mention which will cost 5 or 6 Sterling.

There is no mention of Flora Lee, Philip's second daughter, in this correspondence, although his elder daughter Matilda is usually complimented. Yet there is a reference to William Lee and his wife being chosen as Flora's godparents, and a copy of William's acknowledgment to his brother of this honor:

June 18, 1771

M^{rs} Lee & myself are obliged by the Compliment you Intend us which we shall endeavor to discharge as we Ought, tho you know I was never fond of such a Charge, being conscious of my incapacity to fulfill as I might so Sacred an Engagement.

3. OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

No record has been found of the actual number of children William served as godfather or guardian, but they were numerous and included: Richard Henry Lee's daughter Hannah; a daughter of William Booth of Nomini; James, son of Colonel William Fitzhugh of Rousby Hall, Maryland; James, son of Henry McGill; Ferdinand, son of Samuel Washington of Harewood; James, son of Anthony Stewart of Annapolis, and a Ben Goff, who remains unidentified save for this somewhat gruesome reference in the first letter in the letter books, addressed to Richard Parker in Virginia:

I am told Mrs. Derrick is hang'd, pray enquire what is become of Ben Goff, her son, you know I am his Guardian, and advise my Brother Franc if anything necessary is to be done.

From William's immediate family we turn to some of his fellow citizens in various walks of life. He seems to have been on good terms with the clergy of the Northern Neck. On one occasion he wrote as follows to the Reverend David Currie, who is said to have served in Lancaster from about 1743 to 1792:

From the long & intimate connection that has subsisted between you and my Family, I hope to receive by the Liberty[']s] Cap^t Walker, who is to load for me in Yeocomico, some of your Tob^o & that you will be so obliging as to recommend the same to your Friends.

To the Reverend Isaac W. Giberne, who preached in Richmond County, and who had enjoyed at least one Stratford house party, he addressed these lines:

I was in hopes that Cap^t Walker wou'd have brought me a few hhds of Tob^o from my Old Friend, but it seems as if this world was full of disappointments, which you divines tell us laymen, is wisely ordain'd since it may induce us to lay up treasures elsewhere. . . .

Two tuns this year will be the best apology for forgetting me last voyage. M^{rs} Lee joins me in best Respects to M^{rs} Giberne, and with great respect I am D^r Sir. . . .

The Reverend Thomas Smith of Cople Parish was the minister of Nomini and Yeocomico churches and is mentioned in Fithian's *Journal*. To him William Lee paid this tribute: "I shou'd have paid an ill Comp^t indeed, if I had not been a tolerable Christian after being one of your Flock Sometime." This is evidence that the Lees of Stratford on occasion joined the Lees of Chantilly in attending Nomini Church, although Stratford was located in Washington Parish and Pope's Creek Church was only five miles distant.

William Lee's attitude toward his fellow men in general can be summed up in his own words, which he scrupulously lived up to all the years of his life:

It has been my earnest and unremitted endeavor to serve my friends faithfully and honestly according to the best of my judgement. . . . I will never cheat a man in the dark and make him believe I am his friend.

In one of his letters we find him taking charge of the estate of one Thomas Dolman, who lived near Colonel William Fautleroy of Nailor's Hole in Richmond County. This Dolman, according to the letter, "was formerly a Bricklayer & Servant to my father." Squire Richard Lee, to whom the letter was addressed, was requested to inform "Mr. Dolman," as William calls him, that his brother had died and left him an English estate of £300 per annum. Not only did William Lee secure a copy of the brother's will and forward it to Virginia, but he gave orders to advance Dolman sufficient money for a passage "home" if he cared to come to England, all of which was a most democratic gesture for that day and time.

Later, while in Vienna during the war, he sent a list of instructions to his manager at Greenspring. This excerpt shows his consideration for the slaves he had never seen and reflects the age-old attitude of the Lees towards their servants. It bears the date of June 24, 1778.

I can't too much recommend to you (tho' I hope there is no occasion for it) to take all possible care of the people. The women with child should always be plentifully fed and have necessary clothing. I wish them all to be treated as human beings whom Heaven

has placed under my care not only to minister to my luxury, but to contribute to their happiness. In return for which I have a right to expect their faithful, honest and diligent service. I shall be glad to hear from you. The Rev. Mr. Madison at William and Mary College will tell how to direct them to me, and I dare say will take the trouble to forward your letters. I wish you health, &c.

Before the Revolution these slaves were worth £8,000 sterling. Many of them were probably lost during the war; even so, when William Lee took up occupancy of Greenspring he evidently possessed a large number still, all of whom were subsequently set free by his son, William Ludwell Lee.

William Lee was very much at home in Williamsburg, and on intimate terms with many of its inhabitants. In 1770 Dr. James Blair, son of the acting Governor of Virginia, the Honorable John Blair, was taken with a severe illness while in London. When Hanbury, the London merchant with whom the Blairs did business, declined to advance funds for Dr. Blair's care, William proved to be a friend in time of trouble, and came to the assistance of his fellow countryman, advancing money and writing to the father, with whom he was well acquainted. He likewise refers to Governor Dinwiddie as though he were an old friend. The fact that one of Dinwiddie's mourning rings turned up in the possession of a descendant of William Lee confirms this, for these rings were given only to relatives and close friends.

One letter to Dr. Franklin has been preserved in the letter books. It was written prior to the unfortunate controversies and dissensions which were to develop between Franklin and the Lees, and is evidence that they parted on close terms when Franklin left for America in 1775:

London 11 June 1776

Dr. Benja. Franklin

D^r Sir

The bill of Mess. W. & M. dated 12 Dec. 1775 on Mess. P. & I. Barton value 300, which you remitted to my B^r is this day accepted pay^{le} at 60 dais by Agreement, this I doubt not you will think prudent to accept. I wish you long life, health, success and happyness, & with a tender of any services in my power, remain most sincerely

Y^r Affect Hble Serv^t

William's letters in 1776 were short and guarded. There can be no doubt here that he was informing Franklin of the receipt of a draft from Congress to defray Arthur Lee's expenses as a secret agent. William was rarely given to signing himself "affectionately," though he once in a while so complimented Richard Henry Lee. His doing so in this letter can be taken as an indication of his real regard for Dr. Franklin. That this regard was mutual is shown by a communication the latter sent to Arthur Lee shortly before sailing for home: "I wish both of you [William and Arthur] health and happiness, and shall be glad to hear from you by every opportunity." ⁷ Biographers of Franklin would do well to take note of these two letters.

Chapter III

THE PLENIPOTENTIARY

I. THE WAR YEARS

WE turn back now to the political career of William Lee. The year was 1777 and the struggle continued, as intense in the diplomatic arena behind the lines where William and Arthur were important figures as on the field of battle, where Light Horse Harry Lee was a flashing blade. There was then, is now, and ever shall be, the thing called nepotism. Robert Morris, at that time a member of the Secret Committee of Congress, had his half-brother Thomas, an unreliable character, snugly installed as the American business agent at Nantes, the critical seaport in France from whence supplies were shipped to the United States, and where American privateers based their operations against British merchantmen. Arthur Lee, being fully aware of Morris' limitations and his weakness for drink, recommended his own brother, William the Alderman, as the very man by aptitude and training for the position, and William was commissioned to replace Morris. He unhesitatingly laid aside his distinctions and affluence in London and cast his lot with his native land. But his sacrifices were astoundingly met with at Nantes, for Morris would not let go of his plum until death itself, during one of his debauches, finally ended his career. Whereupon Franklin and Deane, evidently fearful of Lee's probable revelations should he take over the office, insisted on giving the post to Franklin's nephew, Jonathan Williams. Lee, whose integrity would not permit him to play their game, reported to Congress that American affairs at Nantes were in the hands of a group of unscrupulous men under the protection of Franklin and Deane; as a result, he was "kicked upstairs" and sent as American Commissioner to the Courts of Berlin and Vienna. Owing to internal conditions in those two countries it was to prove a fruitless mission.

When William, closely watched, had left London for France in 1777, his wife had stayed behind. Their daughter, Portia, was born in that year, but whether before or after his departure we do not know. By October Hannah was able to follow him to Nantes, where they spent the following winter, and in the spring of 1778 William left for Germany. When Mrs. Lee reached Frankfort is not clear, but William had taken lodgings at the house of a Mrs. Actopu in Book Street, and there the next fall Hannah gave birth to a son whom they called Brutus. The child was baptized by a Lutheran minister and before it had reached the age of one year was buried by an English clergyman in St. Peter's churchyard in that same city. It is not difficult to imagine the anxieties and hardships Hannah Lee, who had been reared in the lap of luxury, must have suffered. The boarding house in Book Street was a long way from Stratford and Greenspring. It was no time to be out of funds in a strange land, and to lose one's child. William wrote of these things to his cousin, Colonel Henry Lee of Leesylvania, from Frankfort on June 7, 1779:

'Tis now exactly two years since I left England to enter into ye service of my country, and being suddenly called away it was impracticable to settle my affairs or to collect what money was due me there, almost the whole of which has been detained from me in consequence of my being in the service of Congress. Since 1775, I have not received one farthing of remittance for ye larger debts due to me in America, for the produce of the Estate at Greenspring. 'Tis true, that for the greater part of the time since I left England the expence of my living has been paid, but that living has been infinitely worse than I had known for near thirty years before: and the fatigue and vexation beyond comparison greater than I ever experienced in my whole life. My employment 'tis true is honorable, but the reverse of being profitable; therefore, you may now easily determine that it is by no means in my power to pay any debts here that were formerly contracted, even if there was the fullest justice in the demand, and my inclination ever so urgent to comply with your request. The same answer I have given to Col. Mason and the same I must give to every other person. On cool and calm consideration I have no doubt but that great share of justice and good sense which you both possess, will make you perfectly satisfied with my conduct. The post I am in I look upon only as placing me as a mark for envy and detraction, for there are in the world unhappily too many Mr. Deanes, and C. Braxtons; but I am much mistaken if

either of them would take my place, especially the latter, who from a ruined fortune is now amassing an immense Estate from ye distresses of his country. I have sent Congress a full answer to Mr. Deane, which I conceive every unprejudiced and impartial man will allow to be completely satisfactory, and I hope they will permit so much to be published as may be necessary to refute his groundless aspersions.

I must say a word or two about ourselves, tho' I have not yet had the pleasure of receiving the letter which I understand you sent by Captain Robinson. The shining merit of your two sons Henry and Charles I hear of from various quarters with infinite satisfaction, especially as your niece has selected Henry [Light Horse Harry] as godfather to our sweet little Portia, now two years old, who is lovely as the rosy morn, and mild in temper as the heavenly cherubims. Pray let him know this. Our eldest son, William Ludwell, has all the fire and vivacity of his grandfather, with too great a portion of his feeble constitution. Our young son, Brutus, now 8 months, has been constantly ill from his birth, arising in great measure from the uneasy state of mind his mother was in during her whole pregnancy. My dear Rib is better in health than myself, for I am nearly worn down. However we always think of you with the greatest affection, and beg that you and our dear aunt will accept our dutiful remembrance. I beg also to be remembered in the kindest manner to the Squire of Lee Hall, who by the bye can easily satisfy your debt, as he owes me four times as much sterling money as I owe you. As to public affairs, I can only say in general, that ours in particular wear a more promising aspect every day; but this truth you should never lose sight of, that the best security of America will be her reliance on herself alone.

The outbreak of war between Germany and Austria over the Bavarian succession, with both sides angling for English aid, ruined the prospects of Lee's mission, but while marking time in Frankfort he was struck by an idea which appealed to his audacity and initiative. Armies the whole world over are raked and combed for such men, who are not afraid of responsibility, and who will take the initiative and "do any sensible thing in an emergency, but do *something*." Such men become the leaders. Robert E. Lee was one of them, a master of that audacity Bonaparte was always talking about. William decided he would negotiate a treaty with Holland. He made the mistake, however, of overlooking the fact that he really lacked the au-

thority to do so. He addressed himself to the Aldermen of Amsterdam to open a way for the treaty, and the Dutchmen responded energetically. They were traders from the heart, and yearned for a chance at the American business Britain was sure to lose if the Revolution was successful. The Aldermen sent an emissary to meet William at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a fine treaty was drawn up and signed by these "militia diplomats" in September, 1778, but when Lee took it in triumph to Franklin at Paris, he merely showed annoyance at William's alleged meddling and did nothing to improve the opportunity for which the door had been opened. The copy William sent to Congress was tabled, of course, for lack of authority on the part of the Dutch signers, and again nothing was done to push the matter. But by a strange quirk this treaty ultimately attained the significance originally intended for it, though in a manner somewhat more devious than William had envisioned. When Henry Laurens of South Carolina, the ex-President of Congress, was sent to Holland to negotiate a loan, his ship was captured by the British, and among his papers a copy of William's treaty was found; it was made a *casus belli* between Britain and Holland, which brought the Dutch after all to the side of the Americans. Laurens was placed in the apartment in the Tower of London reserved for traitors, and later had the honor of being exchanged for Lord Cornwallis, captured at Yorktown.

Family traits repeat themselves. When Cromwell came to power in England, Governor Berkeley and Secretary Lee (Richard I) were deposed in Virginia. They had done all they could for Charles I and Charles II, but once the royal cause seemed definitely lost Richard retired calmly to his Dividing Creek estate, at peace from then on with the *de facto* government. Two centuries later Robert E. Lee retired in much the same manner, when there was nothing else to be done. William Lee did likewise, but his resignation was tempered by his bitterness over the ingratitude of his countrymen. He had unsparingly done his full duty, immolating his honors and successes in London to toil thanklessly for American interests in Europe, but his exposure of scoundrelism in high places resulted only in the loss of his own preferment in the United States, as it virtually ended the diplomatic career of Arthur Lee. In addition to exposing the corruption of certain Americans, their disclosures of the things that went on at Nantes and Passy came too close to certain Frenchmen, and caused the French people and government, to whom Dr. Franklin

was an idol, to show their displeasure by expressing "lack of confidence" in the Lees. Though Silas Deane was recalled and dismissed, Franklin went to his deathbed still believing in Edward Bancroft, the archtraitor. It was the Lees who suffered for their conscientiousness. When the war was over and the honors were being handed around, Arthur lost the ambassadorship to France, which was given to Franklin, and William was simply "demobilized" with the signing of the peace treaty, a forgotten man. He was living in Brussels with his wife and children at the close of the war, and lingered on for four years in Europe, closing out his interests over there; he had resigned as Alderman of London in 1780 and, as far as we know, did not visit England before returning to America. In a letter to John Adams in 1783 he tells him of his plan to sail for Virginia in three weeks, and that in order to make his passage convenient he had been obliged to purchase a ship. This plan must have been abandoned, for June 22 of that year found him with his son William Ludwell at Ostend, where he had been ten days waiting to embark.

He took passage on the *Virginia*, with Moses Robinson as captain, bound for the James River by way of Madeira. It sailed on June 30, 1783. He sent Arthur Lee a letter by a ship going to Baltimore, asking him to inform Richard Henry to come down to Greenspring with his son Tom to meet them, "for I shall have a great occasion to see them and our brother Loudoun [Francis Lightfoot] immediately on my arrival. Therefore shall send an express to them for that purpose the moment I get on shore." After an absence of fifteen years this impatience is easily understood. So is his next request:

Can I get 3 or 4 carriage horses in Virginia or are they to be got cheaper or better at Philadelphia: If they can, can you purchase two good ones for me and contrive them to Green Spring by the middle of September at farthest?

A "Post Chaise or Chariot" had been secured in London through the efforts of Samuel Thorp, who had instructed that "no arms are desired, but a single letter L with the crest over it viz: Non Incautus Futuri." This indication that the family fortunes had taken a turn for the better since Congress had paid William for his services is supplemented by William's instructions to his banker to pay Mrs. Lee £1,000 current money annually for so long as she remained abroad. Her failure to accompany him was undoubtedly due to the precarious

state of her health. She probably planned to join him as soon as she was able, but she was not destined to see Greenspring again, for she died a little over a year from the time William left Ostend for Virginia.

2. GREENSPRING

William Lee reached Greenspring on September 25, 1783, after what must have been a terrible crossing during the summer season. By the middle of October he reported a remarkable event. Writing to Edward Browne he related this news: "Three counties, [with] in 10 days after my arrival have unanimously and without my consent elected me a Senator (the rank of the House of Lords in England)." William had not seen a state Senate when he made this announcement. Nevertheless, his election was a distinct tribute to the man by the electorate in the section of Virginia where he was to make his home and end his days, and it must in some measure have assuaged his bitterness.

On August 18 of the following summer his wife died en route to London, at the home of their devoted friend, Edward Browne, in Ostend. Her remains were taken to Margate, and later, by order of her husband, to the Ludwell vault at Bow Church near Stratford Langton. The two little girls were taken to London by the kindly Samuel Thorp, and cared for until they could be sent to Virginia a year later. "In remembrance of as amiable a Spirit as was ever cloathed in the shape of a woman," William Lee ordered mourning rings for Mrs. Porteus, wife of the Bishop of Chester; Hannah's sister, Mrs. Paradise; Mrs. Thorp, and Edmund Jennings. Three additional rings to fit a woman's finger were sent to William, possibly for three of his sisters-in-law.

To General Nelson at Williamsburg he sent this polite note:

I have a box containing a dozen blue and White china Plates, a complete set of Nenkeen China, a fine enamelled 6 quart china punch bowl, a box containing an elegant tea urn—a new construction, with a heater and key, etc., etc. These articles would I presume be agreeable to my cousin Nelson as well as yourself, and if you will give me leave will be sent to you by the waggon.

The *Virginia Magazine of History* gives this the date of October, 1783, but it is more likely that it was written in 1785, after his wife's

death, for the articles mentioned were probably her possessions. It was in 1785 also, that William wrote: "I am perfectly content to shake hands with the world and bid it adieu." But he was to live for another ten years, and his next problem was to provide for the care of his two young daughters, Portia and Cornelia. His good sense in dealing with this matter is shown in the next two letters, to Samuel Thorp.

June 6, 1785

The endearing account you give of my sweet Babes adds to my anxious desire of seeing them once more & tho I am perfectly satisfied of the truth & justice of the arguments you use for their continuance in England and am fully convinced that no attention of your part or that of your very good Lady Mrs. Thorp would be wanting to make them happy, I cannot change the first desire to have them sent here as soon as it can conveniently & with propriety be done which I hope will be the case before the next Autumnal Equinox at which time the winds are most violent on this coast, this I have much at heart because it was the last dieing request of their blessed parent & secondly since Providence has evidently fixt the pot of these Dear Innocents in this Country it is the bounding duty of a poor anxious parent to adopt those measures that are most likely to promote their happiness however superior English Education may be to what can be obtained here yet the manners & customs of the Ladies in England are so extremely different from the Ladies here that I never knew an instance of a Young Lady Educated in England who could live happily here, etc. . . . I am really desirous that my little ones should be here soon as otherwise it is more than probable that I shall never be able to see them for my vision decays very fast so that like the Patriarchs of old I shall only be able to distinguish my children by the touch and by the voice, they will be here under the care of their Aunt a very amiable Lady who was the choice of their dear Mother. A very good & experienced Governess is already Provided for them therefore if Miss Haines should not come it will be no great ill, etc.

On the 29th Ulto. [November, 1785] Miss Haines and my two sweet innocents arrived here in perfect health; they are indeed all that a fond Parent can wish and the great improvement they have made is the most convincing of all proofs of the Affectionate & tender care you and Dear Mrs. Thorp have taken of them. . . . As soon as their baggage arrives, which Miss Haines left on board the ship in Hampton Roads, and my health permits, I shall carry them

to their good Aunt who has agreed to care for them agreeable to the wishes of their Dear Departed Parent.

Thus did William announce the arrival of his daughters, within four days of the event. In May of the next year, 1786, there was additional news:

I have not seen our sweet little girls since early in January when I left them at Menokin with their Aunt but I heard lately they were well—Miss Haines is employed as a governess at very extravagant wages for this Country in a respectable and agreeable family—The fame of our girls spread far and near which gave her much Eclat as it was generally supposed that they had always been under her care and Tuition and government. You know that it is not my business to put a stop to this prevailing Idea . . . and if she can be contented in Virginia she may well be happy in the family where she now is.

The aunt referred to was Becky Tayloe, wife of their Uncle Frank Lee of Menokin. What a brother William Lee had in this man! And what friends in the hour of trouble were Samuel Thorp and Edward Browne. The “sweet babes” safely ensconced at Menokin, William placed his only surviving son, William Ludwell Lee, in the school of William Maury in Williamsburg.

The children settled, William Lee, who had been a sheriff and alderman of London, who had spent years in the countinghouse, matching his wits with other merchants, who had given up a thriving business in order to serve his country, now retired to Greenspring, a sad, tired, and disillusioned man, and turned to the business of facing his creditors and chasing his debtors. The once great mansion, the creation of Sir William Berkeley in the 1650's, had doubtless been added to and improved during the century it was in the possession of the Ludwells, but nearly twenty-five years had passed since the third Philip Ludwell had taken his departure for London, and its grandeur had faded. Richard Henry's letters should have prepared William for the dilapidation, to which the years it had stood uninhabited and the Battle of Greenspring had been contributing factors. Ralph Izard of South Carolina, a visitor there in 1781, mentions the ruinous condition in a letter to his wife, then in Paris:

I am now at Mr. W. Lee's plantation near James River, on my way to South Carolina. . . . Lord Cornwallis and his plundering

associates had robbed Mr. W. Lee of between 60 and 70 negroes. Half of them are recovered, but I fear that others are lost. His property here is considerable and his friends here are surprised that he does not come here and live. If he can reconcile himself to a Country Life he has everything here that he can reasonably desire. The House in which I am now writing is a very large mansion, at least as large as ours at Goose Creek, and in a much more ruinous condition than that was when you saw it. . . .

Greenspring in its great days may have been more of a castle than we realize. In 1797 the eminent architect, Benjamin Latrobe, drew up plans for its restoration, but William Ludwell Lee, by then the owner, wisely decided to raze the old house and build a new one. Latrobe's drawing remains, however, to give us a good idea of the grandeur of the first Greenspring; it depicts a large mansion three stories high, with a frontage of ninety-eight feet. It also furnishes us with one revealing detail, for in all this magnificence there was only one chimney. Now William Lee had been accustomed to nice cozy rooms at Stratford in his youth, with a fireplace in every one of them. Let's see what he found at Greenspring in his old age. He graphically describes it to Edward Browne:

January 10, 1784

My poor health, the enormous coldness of the weather, with many other causes, heretofore mentioned, are a great deal too much for me. I ought to be at Falmouth in 4 or 5 days time on Business of great importance, but the Frost is so severe, the roads so bad, & my worn out Carcass so crazy, that I can't venture to stir out, tho' this House is no better than a barn. . . . Nothing that will be hurt by Damp must come here, for this House & every part about the huge Plantation, in the least wet weather, is ten times worse than Flanders; the walls run down with water, & all the floors are covered with it. My fine gilded chairs, which are not, nor can they be, unpacked as yet, I fear will be spoiled, for I can't get a place to put them in.

Poor William! He was not destined for much comfort in his declining years. His eyesight was failing, his wife dead, his daughters living elsewhere; he must have spent many lonely hours at remote Greenspring. What a host of memories must have passed through his mind as he sat dreaming of other times: the day in far-off 1768 when he and Arthur, high-hearted and full of confidence, set out to make a new life in England; the Tower Hill home and all the people who

had enjoyed its hospitality; the heady and exhilarating competition of the tobacco trade. He must have nostalgically looked back to the splendid occasions when he rode the streets of London in his coach and four, as Alderman of the City, and with the Lord Mayor stood before the King in behalf of the colonies. Those were the halcyon days. Recollections of the later war years must have brought mixed emotions, but even had he been able to foresee the outcome, his decision would have had to be the same, for he had taken the only possible course.

Shortly before the close of his life he received a visit from Light Horse Harry Lee. Then followed the next to the last letter he ever wrote:

Green Spring June 22nd 1795

Gen^l Henry Lee

My Dear Sir

I am apprehensive you went from hence under an erroneous impression with respect to the sum of money it would take to close finally on the 4th of next month my claim ag^t the estate of my father. It will require at least £2500 to accomplish that point, a further delay will of course increase the sum.

I shall expect you certainly at the time you appointed, that this long protracted business may be closed before I quit this unstable state.

Five days later, bent with rheumatism and nearly blind, William Lee was dead at the early age of fifty-six.

At the time of his death his two daughters, then twenty and seventeen, were still living at Menokin; they continued to live there until their devoted uncle and aunt died, within a few days of each other. Thomas Lee Shippen writes of these events in a letter to his father:

Williamsburg, January 25, 1797

I write you now my dear father rather to thank you for your kind post script to my dear Betsy's letter and to perform my promise of writing something to you once a week than because I have anything to tell you either new or agreeable. My poor Uncle Frank has paid his last debt to Nature, following Mrs. Lee who went a few days before him. I have no doubt but her death hastened his as

her constant attendance upon him is said to have occasioned the illness which proved fatal to her. William L. Lee has in consequence of these two unexpected deaths sent here for a chariot to bring his sisters, who both live at Menokin, to Greenspring, where they will live hence forward in all probability with him.

Love to all my friends, my dear mother, last of the Stratford Lees, in particular.

Your always and ever the same

Th. L. Shippen.

Although William Ludwell Lee sent for his sisters to come home to Greenspring it is more likely that they chose to stay on for a while with the Tayloes at nearby Mount Airy. Six months later they were making their home with their cousin, Richard Bland Lee of Sully.⁸ Greenspring was too remote. There they remained until they were married, Portia to William Hodgson of Alexandria on May 2, 1799, and Cornelia to John Hopkins of Richmond on October 16, 1806. Portia lived in Alexandria from the time of her marriage till her death in 1840; Cornelia also resided there at one time and all her children were born there. She died about 1835. Of their brother we know little. He was born in London on January 23, 1775, and seems to have been in ill health for most of his short life. There is an old letter in the Shippen Collection which gives us an odd glimpse of this young man. About 1797, when he would have been twenty-two years old, he sent the following prescription to his cousin Tom Shippen, visiting at the time in Williamsburg. We don't know what the occasion was, nor the malady for which he was prescribing, but it is not surprising that both these gentlemen died young.

Take Storax pill (36 grains), Gum Kino (72 grains), Gum Mastic (24 grains). Rub all these ingredients well together in a marble mortar, mix the powder in a mass for pills with oil of Carraways: If a mass sufficiently consistent to make pills cannot be easily formed with the oil of Carraways alone, add a sufficiency for that purpose of mucilage of Gum Tragacanth. Make the whole Mass into 24 pills, two of which are a dose to be taken night and morning; or oftener, as the urgency of the case may require.

From William Ludwell Lee with his affectionate regards

to Thomas Lee Shippen, Esq.

William Ludwell Lee died unmarried at Greenspring on the 24th of January, 1803, aged twenty-eight, and was buried beside his father

in Jamestown churchyard. Until recently their graves were unmarked, and the only tangible reminder that, during a century and a half, the Lees frequented this neighborhood and strove mightily in fashioning a nation was one of William Lee's boundary stones, marked with his monogram, on the road to Chickahominy Ferry.

NOTES

PART FOUR

¹ The Grand Ohio Company, whose projected land grants were known as Vandalia, comprised a group of Americans and Englishmen seeking an immense grant of some 20 million acres on the Ohio. This was territory included in the original Virginia charter, Virginia then comprising all the expanse north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. The Vandalia tract also included all the lands which the earlier Ohio Company, represented in London by Arthur Lee, and composed of the Lees, Washingtons, Fitzhughs, and other Potomac families, had staked out for their own. In addition to what the Virginians considered an invasion of the rights of their native state, further affront was caused by the fact that most of the Americans in the Grand Ohio Company were champions of the British cause against the colonies. Samuel Wharton was particularly active in furthering this land scheme while resident in London; other members were Joseph Galloway and William Franklin, both Tories; Edward Bancroft, the archtraitor, and Dr. Franklin himself, who, though a patriot, was a conciliatory influence between England and her colonies at this time. The British roster of members contained many names powerful in England. They included Thomas Walpole, the Earl of Hertford, John Robinson, and others, all leaders of the anticolonial forces. Even during the war itself the Franklin-Wharton-Walpole group continued their machinations, transferring their petitions from the Crown to Congress, so as to confirm their grant. For obvious reasons this was a thorn in the side of the Lees, and Arthur Lee in particular, and explains his lasting antipathy toward the Whartons, which was mutual. See Hendrick, *The Lees of Virginia*, 272-75 and 290.

² After stating his case to Congress, Deane was allowed to return to Paris (1781) to settle his affairs, but differences with various French officials led to his retirement to Holland, where he remained until the peace treaty was signed, after which he settled in England. The publication of some "intercepted" letters in the same year, in which Deane declared his belief that the struggle for independence was hopeless, and counseled a return to British allegiance, aroused such animosity in America that he remained in England for some years, and died there in 1789, on a ship embarking for America. He published his defense in *An Address to the Free and Independent Citizens of the United States of North America* (Hartford and London: 1784). Congress voted \$37,000 to his heirs in 1842. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: Silas Deane.

³ In the Shippen Collection there is a certified copy of the marriage record

from the Parish Register of St. Mary le Strand, which reads: "W^m Shippen Jun^r of the Parish of St. Mary le Bow, London, Batchelor, & Alice Lee of the Parish of St. Mary le Strand, Spinster, were married in this Church by License this third day of April in the year one thousand seven Hundred and sixty two, by me, Thomas Ball, curate." Dr. Shippen probably lived near St. Mary le Bow in Cheapside Street not far from St. Paul's. Alice was living with the Ludwells in the parish of St. Mary le Strand, which explains why they were married in this church instead of St. Mary Stratford Bow, where the Ludwells had a vault, in which the first Philip Ludwell was buried. This latter church was at the far end of London, adjacent to the parish of Colonel Richard Lee's home at Stratford Langton, while St. Mary le Strand, as the name indicates, stands in the middle of the Strand, opposite Somerset House and near Waterloo Bridge.

⁴ The letter books were in the possession of Mrs. William J. Boothe of Alexandria, a descendant of William Lee, who in 1950 presented them to the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation. They are now preserved in the archives at Stratford. Prior to this, Cazenove Lee carefully went through them, typed some 700 of the letters, prepared an index, and carded many interesting items.

⁵ These properties are shown on a plot of Williamsburg made about 1790 and now in the William and Mary College Library. The plot is reproduced as the frontispiece in Lyon G. Tyler's *Williamsburg* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1907).

⁶ Richard Henry Lee seems to have shared William's feeling about Philip Lee. In all his correspondence there is no letter to this oldest brother, but these two excerpts from letters he wrote to William while the latter was living abroad are illuminating. The first, dated 1775, concerns Philip's death, which is mentioned only casually at the end, after a long political dissertation: "The honorable Col^o Lee of Stratford was buried this day, he died the 21st ultimo after a months painful illness. He is a public loss, and if the Ministry go on filling up these vacancies in the Council with raw boys and hot-headed senseless people, that affairs of Virginia must be in perpetual confusion." A fair tribute to his brother's public record, but hardly an expression of any kind of grief. Compare it with the second one, announcing the death of Thomas Ludwell Lee. It was written three years later from York, dated May 12, 1778, and *begins*: "It is with infinite pain that I inform you our dear brother of Belleview departed this life on the 13th of April last, after sustaining a severe Rheumatic fever for 6 weeks. Dr. Steptoe attended him the whole time and I was also with him. Both public and private considerations render this loss most lamentable. He had just been appointed one of our five Judges of the General Court, in which station he was well qualified to do this Country eminent service. He has left behind him a numerous little family and a very disconsolate widow." We can hardly fail to note the difference in the tone of the two letters, nor to draw the obvious conclusion.

⁷ Richard H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee* (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1829), I, 34.

⁸ A letter in the Shippen Collection, written by Thomas Lee Shippen to his father on October 24, 1797, contains a description of his visit to Sully, where the overwhelming hospitality of his relatives made it impossible for him to complete his itinerary on schedule! This place was afterwards sold to Francis Lightfoot Lee, son of Richard Henry and namesake of his uncle, the Signer. It was the birthplace of Admiral Samuel Phillips Lee, U.S.N.

“This is the seat of Mr. R. B. Lee in Loudoun County 27 miles from Alexandria, 25 from Dumfries and 50 from Fredericksburg. We arrived here yesterday from Leesburg before dinner, and the great importunity of this delightful family had persuaded us to pass this day with them when it promised to be like yesterday a fine one. It has turned out a very bad one, and it rains harder than I have seen it rain these many months. Happy travellers to have such a shelter from the storm. I would fain give you some idea of the elegance in which this kinsman of ours has settled himself to make amends for the caprice of his fellow-citizens. [He is referring to Richard Bland Lee’s failure to be re-elected to Congress.] The house is new, built by himself about 3 years ago and lately furnished from Philada, with every article of silver plate, mahogany, Wilton carpeting and glassware that can be conceived of that you will find in the very best furnished houses in Philada. Parlours & chambers completely equipped with every luxury as well as convenience. Mr. Lee’s family is composed of his lady & son 3 months old, Portia and Cornelia Lee who made choice of him as you may have heard on the death of their uncle Frank, as their guardian, and a young Turberville who is a branch of our family. They all received us with open arms, and though their caresses were almost beyond description no one surpassed Mrs. Lee, herself, our townswoman and once your patient, always your most passionate admirer. . . .”

Part Five ❧ ❧ ❧

THE LUDWELLS AND
OTHER FAMILIES

Part Five

THE LUDWELLS AND OTHER FAMILIES

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Chapter I

GREENSPRING

I. THE BERKELEYS

PHILIP LUDWELL I was the great-grandfather of the Stratford Lees (Plate XXVII). He came to Virginia about 1660, where his brother Thomas was already a noted man, and the account of his line provides us with another fascinating story—the story of Greenspring and the people who lived there in the early days before the Lees came into possession of it.

While Stratford was the birthplace of Richard Henry Lee, Greenspring was the scene of the marriage of his mother and father, and if it be true that Hannah Ludwell's fortune helped Thomas Lee to build his home, then Greenspring could in a sense be regarded as the parent of that mansion. Stratford remained in the Lee family for nearly one hundred years, but the Ludwells and the Lees owned Greenspring for one hundred twenty-five years. It was built by Sir William Berkeley, the Royal Governor, in the mid-seventeenth century, and became a Ludwell possession when the first Philip Ludwell, who had been one of Governor Berkeley's most ardent supporters, married his widow. The Ludwells owned it for three generations, after which it passed through marriage to William Lee. Its story was for many years interwoven with the history of Virginia, in politics and war, and during the Revolution it was the scene of the battle to which it gave the name.¹

The study of the title to this place takes us back to the year 1618, prior to the founding of New England. On November 15 of that year Captain Yeardley, the governor-elect, was instructed by "the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers . . . for the Collony of Virginia" to set aside three thousand acres near Jamestown for the seat of the governor and his successors.² This land extended along

the James for about three miles, from Powhatan Creek, which bordered it on the east, to the mouth of the Chickahominy, and was known as the Governor's Land. Until the coming of Sir William Berkeley little use was made of it, the governors wisely electing to reside in Jamestown.

On June 4, 1643, the Quarter Court of Virginia "did grant to Sir William Berkeley then Governor in office, 948 Acres of land by name of Greenspring . . . due to him by right for Transportation of p'sons into Virginia. . . ." This grant, which bounded south-south-east on the Governor's Land, was confirmed to him by the Council of State in 1646, the nine hundred forty-eight acres having been surveyed and found to contain one thousand ninety. Sir William had good reason for patenting land adjacent to the Governor's Land, for by so doing he secured a fine site for a home on higher ground, with an excellent spring at the foot of his lawn, on property which was his own and would not pass to his successor when he retired from office. Having little need of the Governor's Land itself, he gradually leased portions of it; much of this later passed into the Ludwells' hands and became part of Greenspring.

Berkeley renewed his patents to this property in 1652 and again in 1661, when the estate had grown to two thousand ninety acres, all known as Greenspring; if we add to this the approximately three thousand acres of the Governor's Land, we find that Sir William was in control of about seven square miles of property. On this site, which must have commanded a grand view of the river, he built a fine house with terraced lawns and flower gardens, hothouses filled with tropical shrubs and fruits, and a stable with thoroughbred horses. Here he kept open house for the Cavaliers who took refuge in Virginia during the exile of Charles II, and here, because of the destruction of the State House in Jamestown, the first Grand Assembly after Bacon's Rebellion was held. Nothing now remains of the "palace" he built, but the old spring which gave the place its name still flows as peacefully as it did on that far-off day in 1642 when Sir William first stood beside it.

This man, probably the outstanding personality of the next thirty-five tempestuous years, was born in England in 1609, studied at Oxford from 1622 to 1629, and was knighted ten years later. He was commissioned Governor of Virginia by Charles I in 1641 and reached that colony early the following spring. The first decade of his administration was very successful and he was popular with the people,

who liked the social amenities he introduced and admired the courage and energy he displayed in the Indian massacre of 1644.

During the Cromwell regime he was naturally deposed from his office, but he remained in Virginia, residing at Greenspring, and his popularity was so great that in 1660, when there was neither a ruler in England nor a governor in Virginia, he was re-elected to that office by the House of Burgesses.

Ten years later, in 1670, he married the widow of Samuel Stephens of Warwick County after a brief courtship. Born Frances Culpeper and possessed of great charm and beauty, she took an active part in the social and political life of the next few years and incurred the dislike of many persons. About this time Governor Berkeley was beginning to show the wear and tear of a turbulent era, and as the general unrest increased he was fast losing his popularity and was on the way to becoming a merciless and vindictive zealot.

There were several factors responsible for this unrest. Under the Navigation Acts the colonies could trade only with England, in English ships. Because the foreign market for Virginia tobacco was thereby curtailed, British merchants were able to buy it at a very low figure and to sell English goods to the hapless Virginians at exorbitant prices, all of which was resulting in the rapid impoverishment of Virginia and the demoralization of New England as a result of the smuggling which naturally ensued. There were also other causes for the general discontent, not the least of which were the failure of the Governor to provide adequate protection against the Indians and the state of governmental corruption in both England and Virginia. By 1676 the colony was ripe for rebellion; the nerves of the people were tense and all that was needed was an Indian attack, for which they did not have long to wait.

The insurrection known as Bacon's Rebellion, led by Nathaniel Bacon, a young Englishman who was himself a Councillor and member of the House of Burgesses, started out as a reprisal against the Indians when they plundered and burned certain plantations, one of Bacon's among them. Actually, one phase of it resulted in a successful campaign which settled the Indian question for all time as far as Tidewater Virginia was concerned, but to Berkeley the whole thing spelled rebellion. He issued a proclamation to that effect, gathered his own forces, and set out after Bacon, who retaliated by gathering some merchant ships into a fleet and sending them after

the Governor. Berkeley's loyal followers got him out of this fracas by a daring exploit in which Philip Ludwell played a prominent part, but the climax was reached when Bacon marched into Jamestown and burned the town. This marked the high tide of the rebellion, for soon after Bacon died of a fever and the revolt collapsed.

Now began Sir William's pitiless vengeance on his unarmed adversaries. A court martial was instituted, a number of persons were tried, and an orgy of hangings followed, all of which increased the people's growing hatred for Berkeley. Soon even the King whom he had faithfully served turned against him. When, in April of 1677, overcome by sickness and a troubled spirit, he sailed for England, bonfires blazed while all Virginia rejoiced. His career was ended and never again would he see his Greenspring mansion or his "beloved Dame," Lady Berkeley. On July 13 he passed away.

In the words of one historian,³ Berkeley was not a cruel man by nature, but rebellion made him merciless. For twenty-five years he ruled the colony to the satisfaction of everyone and was a sincere friend to Virginia and the Virginians, and all his affections were settled there in his wife, his home, and his friends. But when his idol, the Divine Right, was flouted he became a changed man.

He was the product of his English background, as were the men who supported him during the unpopular period of his career. These men, who comprised a majority of the wealthiest and most important in the colony, were opposed to Bacon from the beginning to the end, for they were disbelievers in popular government and convinced that "society is most prosperous when a select portion of the community governs the whole."⁴ As Fiske points out, there was of course "peculation and extortion" under the Berkeley regime, and while such men as John Washington, Augustine Warner, Richard Lee, and Philip Ludwell were in no sense inclined to tolerate or connive at it, they were all essentially Royalists, and as such consistently for the King's man. They possessed an English heritage of some six hundred years; they sent their children "home" to be educated and made frequent trips themselves, and in every way kept in close touch with England. They or their fathers had taken up land in the New World that was abundant and cheap, and by hard work had prospered in spite of a discouraging labor problem and an uncomfortable position on the wrong side of a tariff wall. They had filled every political office from clerk or justice in their own counties to Councillor of the

King, and each position carried responsibilities. They were frequently thrown on their own individual resources and forced to act at once, on a moment's notice, without being able to gather for consultation. They met each crisis as it came with staunch and resolute courage, often leaving their homes and families to gather a reluctant and vacillating militia and lead it over miry roads and through pestilential swamps and unknown forests to attack a treacherous foe. They had to contend with some of the world's choicest riffraff, and let it not be forgotten that their household servants were fresh from Africa; in addition to all this, they humored a set of rascals in London whose knavery was unsurpassed. Such were the men who made Virginia what it was, and who delighted to call themselves Virginians.

2. THE LUDWELLS

Let us go back now to the first Philip Ludwell, who a little later was to succeed Berkeley as master of Greenspring. When Ludwell arrived in Virginia in 1660 at the age of twenty, Cromwell had been dead about two years; his older brother, Thomas Ludwell, had come over fourteen years earlier during the darkest days of the fortunes of Charles the First. The two brothers were sons of Thomas Ludwell of Somersetshire, whose forebears had settled there about two generations before Thomas and Philip emigrated to America. Their mother was Jane Cottington, daughter of James Cottington of Discoe in the parish of Bruton, Somerset. James Cottington was a son of Philip Cottington of Godminster in the same county, and a brother of Philip, Lord Cottington, a prominent statesman in the reign of Charles II.

By the time Philip Ludwell got to Virginia his brother Thomas had attained the dignity of membership in the Council and the high office of Secretary of State. At the outbreak of Bacon's Rebellion Thomas was in England on a mission to obtain a revocation of the unpopular Northern Neck grant and to secure a new charter, and his suggestions for the proper suppression of the uprising seem to have been followed by the British government. He returned to Virginia about July, 1677, and shortly afterwards was made president of the Council, a crowning achievement. His home was at Rich Neck, on the west side of Archer's Hope Creek; William and Mary College is located on part of it.⁵ Here the following year he died and was

buried, though his tombstone was later moved to Bruton churchyard in Williamsburg, called after his birthplace in England. Following is the inscription on his tombstone, erected forty-seven years later as the pious tribute of his nephew, Philip Ludwell, Jr.

Under this marble lieth the Body of Thomas Ludwell, Esq., Secretary of Virginia, Who was born at Bruton in the County of Somerset in the Kingdom of England; and who departed this Life in the Year 1678: and near this place lieth the bodies of Richard Kemp Esqr., his Predecessor in ye Secretary's office, and Sir Thomas Lunsford KT., in memory of whom this marble is placed by Order of Philip Ludwell Esqr., nephew of the said Thomas Ludwell, in the year 1727.

Thomas Ludwell never married, and at his death his property passed to his brother Philip, who several years before had become the husband of Lucy Higginson. This lady, the only child of "the valiant Captain Robert Higginson," had already been twice wed, first to Major Lewis Burwell and after his death to Colonel William Bernard. She and her third husband continued to live on at the extensive Burwell estate at Carter's Creek in Gloucester⁶ where their son Philip Ludwell, Jr., and possibly their daughter Jane were born. This daughter became the wife of Colonel Daniel Parke, Jr., and the ancestress of the beautiful Evelyn Byrd of Westover and of Daniel Parke Custis, Martha Washington's first husband.⁷

After his wife's death in 1675,⁸ when the Carter's Creek estate reverted to the son of her first marriage, Philip Ludwell probably moved to his "brick house" in Jamestown, for he did not inherit Rich Neck until his brother's death.⁹ He had been appointed Deputy Secretary to this brother in 1674 and for three years acted as Secretary of State while Thomas was in England on the public business. On March 4, 1675, he took the oath of Councillor. He was Berkeley's good friend during the days of his great popularity and loyally stood by him in the troublous times of the Rebellion.

Ludwell continued to be a conspicuous figure in Virginia history for many years after Sir William's departure. The "Greenspring faction," led by himself and Lady Berkeley, the Governor's widow, and aided and abetted by Robert Beverley, led the opposition to the commissioners sent out by the King early in 1677 to investigate the late rebellion. These commissioners were regarded as intruders and

were opposed first by Berkeley and, after he left, by his friends, and shortly by everybody in general. One of them by the name of Herbert Jeffrys produced after Berkeley's recall a commission as Lieutenant Governor and also gave protection to a former adherent of Bacon, who was being sued by Ludwell at the time. This so infuriated the latter's "rash and fiery temper" that he publicly denounced Jeffrys for a worse rebel than Bacon,¹⁰ and as a result was excluded from the Council by the action of the Lords of Trade and Plantations. This skirmishing with the royal governors seems to have been a Ludwell characteristic, for we see it repeated in the next generation.

In 1680 he married Lady Berkeley, who after dispensing hospitality at Greenspring for seven years as the Governor's wife had continued to do so as his widow. This marriage to Ludwell, like her first two, was childless, but by it he came into the Greenspring estate, destined to remain in his family for the next century and a quarter. He leased it as a place of residence to Governor Culpeper, whose rule was marked by four years of chronic brawl, and he and his bride went to live at Rich Neck after a lengthy honeymoon abroad.

The year after his marriage to Lady Berkeley, Ludwell was appointed by Culpeper to Daniel Parke's seat in the Council. The appointment was made at the request of that entire body, but his term was of comparatively short duration, for in October, 1686, he was again suspended because of his resistance to the efforts of the new governor, Lord Effingham, to take from the House of Burgesses their power of levying taxes. By January the King had extended this suspension to full dismissal, but this only increased Ludwell's popularity. Furthermore, he still held the office of Deputy Surveyor-General, which was the means of helping old friends in ways that greatly annoyed the Governor's party.¹¹ When the House of Burgesses in the fall of 1688 finally entreated the King for relief from the Governor's exactions, Ludwell was requested to present the petition, which he delivered to the Privy Council in England on March 28, 1689; the time was propitious and he was successful in obtaining a favorable decision on most of the points. His power was further increased when in 1690 he became Lord Culpeper's agent for the Northern Neck, a position he held for two years.

Late in that year he was made governor of North Carolina, and during the three years of his office apparently was able to bring that disturbed colony to comparative peace. On May 7, 1691, the House

of Burgesses rendered him a vote of thanks for his "indefatigable and prosperous endeavors" and 250 pounds sterling as reimbursement for his "great and necessary expenses." His jurisdiction was enlarged to include both the Carolinas in 1693 and his administration was marked by great ability, but at the end of a year he retired to Virginia, bringing his public life to a close. He returned to England to live about 1704, after his wife's death. A fragment of her tombstone may still be seen in Jamestown churchyard, from which we gather that she continued to use the title Sir William had bestowed on her, even after her marriage to Ludwell. Her portrait attests to her beauty, and various contemporary documents to her high spirit and courage.

Some accounts convey the impression that Colonel Ludwell, as he was known, died in London soon after his return there, but there is mention of him in letters dated 1710 and 1713, and as late as January, 1724, a letter from Thomas Ludwell of Bruton, England, to Philip Ludwell, Jr., of Greenspring relays the fact that he had recently put on five mourning rings for Philip's father.¹² So the old gentleman must have lived until about 1723, when he would have been at least eighty. He is buried in St. Mary le Bow, Middlesex.

Philip Ludwell, Jr., only son of Colonel Ludwell's first marriage, was born at Carter's Creek on February 4, 1672. He may have gone to school in England, but made his home at Greenspring with his father and stepmother until 1697, when on November 11 he married Hannah Harrison, daughter of Benjamin and Hannah Harrison of the noted James River family. After the marriage they lived for a while at Rich Neck, where his elder children were born between 1698 and 1704. Since his next child was born at Greenspring in 1706, he probably moved back there some time between the two dates, after his father's departure for England.

He appears to have served in the House of Burgesses as the representative from James City County as early as 1695 and to have continued as such until he became a Councillor to Queen Anne under a commission bearing the date of May 21, 1702. In 1704 there is a record of his patenting two grants on the Rappahannock in Fauquier¹³ and a year later we find him a Visitor of William and Mary College, and at odds with Governor Spotswood, being forbidden to enter the

latter's house "save when sent for." He was appointed Deputy Auditor-General by this same person, but like his father eventually lost his office because of incurring the Governor's displeasure. In 1710 he served in another capacity, when with his brother-in-law Nathaniel Harrison he represented Virginia on a commission to settle the boundary between that colony and North Carolina.

Six years later he was again a Visitor at William and Mary and likewise in governmental disfavor. A dispute had arisen over the Governor's Land, which Spotswood had surveyed when he found that there were but twenty-five hundred acres instead of the three thousand called for in 1618, and the Governor demanded five hundred acres from Greenspring to make up the difference. Ludwell maintained that the loss was due to erosion by the river, and that the surrender of five hundred acres of his property would take away all the buildings erected by Governor Berkeley, who would hardly have built on land to which he did not possess a title when he owned so much property in his own right. Since Ludwell and Spotswood were not on the best of terms, this matter was doubtless a political maneuver. At any rate, nothing seems to have come of it.

Ludwell was not the only one to enjoy Governor Spotswood's displeasure. William Byrd has left a letter, written in his best style, dated July 3, 1717, and addressed to Ludwell. It seems that while in London he had called upon his friend Lord Orkney, Governor of Virginia, who proceeded to read him a letter from Spotswood, the Deputy Governor. Byrd made these caustic comments on the letter:

Half of this Epistle is filled with the bitterest accusations of his Enemys (which he explains to be you and me only) and the other half is stuffed out with his own commendations. His Lord'p was so good as to read most of this piece to me and I can say that he [Spotswood] is as exorbitant in doing himself too much honor as he is in doing us too much wrong. In his elegant account of us he is pleased to say, amongst abundance of other kind things, that we have done him more injury than we can repair. . . . Then for the Panegyrick which he makes upon himself it is beyond that of Pliny upon Trajan.¹⁴

Philip Ludwell, Jr., died on January 11, 1727, and his wife on April 4, 1730. They are buried beside the church in Jamestown. Only three of their children lived to grow up, two of them daughters: Lucy, the eldest, married Colonel John Grymes and died in 1748;

Hannah, the second daughter, became the wife of Thomas Lee of Stratford. The only surviving son was Philip Ludwell III, who inherited Greenspring.

This son, a boy of eleven at the time of his father's death, was born at Greenspring on the 29th of December, 1716. About 1737 he married Frances, a daughter of Colonel Charles Grymes of Morattico. Like his father and grandfather before him, he was a member of the Council; his appointment was announced in the *Virginia Gazette* on May 24, 1751, and records show that he was serving at late as 1755.

In 1753 a large part of the old Governor's Land was conveyed to this Philip by an indenture¹⁵ made between him and Governor Dinwiddie. By the terms of this document Ludwell was to have a ninety-nine-year lease on the lands, for which he was to pay a yearly rent of thirty-seven barrels of Indian corn each Christmas Day, the Governor being entitled to repossess the property should he get behind in his payments.

Some years before his death Ludwell, like his grandfather, retired to England to live. We are given some idea of the immense wealth of this family by the bequests in his will. He died on March 25, 1767, and was also buried in the Ludwell vault at Bow Church; with him the male line of the Virginia Ludwells became extinct, for his only survivors were daughters.

One of these, Lucy, became the wife of John Paradise of Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London. They were well-known figures in London literary circles and are mentioned by Boswell, Burney, and Pepys. Several years after her husband's death in 1796 she returned to Virginia; the house where she lived in Williamsburg until her own death in 1814 is there today. Her daughter Lucy married Count Barziza, a Venetian, and died in Italy in 1800, leaving two sons. Mrs. Paradise was much concerned with the building of the Federal City. We include here an amusing letter she wrote to her niece, Portia Lee Hodgson, in which she makes inquiries about this matter; she also mentions Martha Washington's death, evidently feeling that the passing of a president's widow called for the same period of mourning accorded to royalty. They had probably been well acquainted in earlier days, when Mrs. Washington had lived at Six Chimney House, the Custis town house in Williamsburg.

London No. 29 Howland Street, Fitzroy Square

My dear Niece,

I hope you will have received my last letter. It is a long time I have not received a letter from you. If Mr. Hodgson would write me and send a letter to his nearest relations to pay me a visit that would get us acquainted. . . . My affectionate regards to Cornelia and tell her she should write me and tell me the news of all our Relations and who is married, Born and died. I have altered my intention of going home for some time and for that reason I have taken the house No. 29, Howland Street, Fitzroy Square London. I read in the newspapers of June 30th, that Mrs. Martha Washington was dead. Let me know if it is true and tell me the cause of her death. I went directly into mourning and I shall continue in mourning 6 months. If you and all my numerous relations and acquaintances were to get into a habit of writing it would make me happy, I hope Mr. Hodgson and yourself and children are well. Present my affectionate compliments to Mr. Hodgson and all my relations. In your answer to this letter please tell me if the city of Washington is finished. Accept my blessings and my best wishes attend you all.

Your affectionate aunt,

Lucy Ludwell Paradise.

July 31, 1802.

P.S. Please to tell me if the Congress is held in the city of Washington. Send me the answer soon. I love the three children of my dear sister.¹⁶

Philip Ludwell had another daughter, Frances, born in 1750, who died unmarried at eighteen; his eldest, Hannah Philippa, was married in 1769 at St. Clement Dane's in London to her first cousin, William Lee, then living in England, and under Virginia law Greenspring became his property. When, after the Revolution, he took up residence there in 1783, he was compelled to leave her and his two daughters in Europe because of her health. She died in Ostend the following year and was later buried with the others of her family at Bow Church in London.

Although handicapped by partial blindness William Lee succeeded in bringing the Greenspring estate back to something like its former condition, and left it to his only son, William Ludwell Lee, who built a new house on the site of the old one. In the Richmond *Enquirer* of March, 1816, an advertisement of its sale appears, giving the acreage

of the estate as 2,134½ and clearly stating that the mansion house was erected by the late William Ludwell Lee.¹⁷ This settles the mistaken idea held for some time that the ruins to be seen there today are the remains of the house built by Governor Berkeley. Today the foundations and a tottering wing are all that remain of the magnificence that was Greenspring.

Like Stratford, Greenspring had its group of portraits. Three of these, the Berkeleys and Colonel Grymes, eventually found their way to Stratford, but in addition, four others graced the walls of Greenspring at one time. There is the likeness of Colonel Philip Ludwell I, painted when he was about sixty, and its companion piece, another representation of Lady Berkeley. Going on the presumption that most portraits were painted on trips back to England, and judging from his apparent age at the time, Ludwell's likeness must have been done after he took up residence there in 1704. The portrait of Lady Berkeley shows her, curiously enough, as a younger woman than the twin portrait to Governor Berkeley, so it must have been executed prior even to her marriage to Sir William in 1670. There has been much controversy about this portrait. In a volume drawn from the archives of the Colonial Dames of America entitled *Ancestral Records and Portraits* (1910) it appears with the one of Philip Ludwell, but is erroneously labeled Lucy Higginson. Later Charles Bolton in his *Portraits of the Founders* (1919-26) obviously repeated the mistake:

The so-called Lucy (Higginson) portrait has the slit sleeves, caught up by clasps, and the earrings, and necklace which point to the period of 1650-90, the Lucy Higginson era, and although fashions are so recurrent that one makes an assertion with proper caution, the portrait seems well-named Lucy, wife successively of Lewis Burwell, Colonel William Bernard, and Philip Ludwell I.

Now while it is true that the necklace, earrings, gown, coiffure, and clasps were all in vogue in 1675 when Lucy Higginson died, the portrait, shown here with the one of Colonel Ludwell, is the early one of Lady Berkeley. It resembles the grand three-quarter painting of her which matches Governor Berkeley's, it has always been known in the Lee family as a Lady Berkeley, and in Alexandria there is a

copy of it, probably made prior to 1840, which is definitely marked "Lady Frances Berkeley."

Mr. Bolton also got into trouble over the three generations of gentlemen having the name of Philip Ludwell. He speaks of "the original portrait called Philip Ludwell II . . . reproduced on page 169." There is no known portrait of the second Philip in existence. The portrait is the one of Colonel Philip Ludwell I shown here.¹⁸

Two other paintings complete the Greenspring group. Philip Ludwell III sat for an excellent likeness about 1732, when he was a lad of sixteen. Its companion piece, painted about the same time, is of his sister Hannah, later to become the wife of Thomas Lee. When Greenspring was sold in 1804 these paintings were inherited by Cornelia Lee Hopkins, daughter of Hannah Phillipa Ludwell and William Lee. They were taken by her to Alexandria and have continued in the possession of her descendants.

The portraits of the first Philip and "My Lady" also went to Alexandria, to William Lee's other daughter, Portia Hodgson. When her estate was settled in 1840 this pair was purchased by her kinsman, Cassius F. Lee of Alexandria.

Chapter II

MOUNT VERNON

THE chronicle of the Lees could not be told without mention of the Washington family, whose connection with the Mount Vernon property followed that of the Lees, who were second only to the Washingtons in their long and close association with the place.

On March 23, 1663, the General Court of Virginia renewed a patent granted several years earlier by Sir William Berkeley "unto Colo Richard Lee Esqr, Councillor of State," for four thousand acres of land in three parcels, one of which, containing one thousand acres, comprised the tract on which Mount Vernon is now so pleasantly situated.¹⁹ This property was left by Colonel Lee to his five younger children and is again mentioned in the will of his older son and heir-at-law, Richard Lee II, into whose possession it appears to have passed: "I give to my daughter Anne Fitzhugh all my right, title and claim to a tract of land of 4000 acres in Stafford County patented by my honoured father deceased." (In 1663 Mount Vernon was in Westmoreland; in 1714, the date of Richard II's will, it was in Stafford, while today it is in Fairfax County.)

In the meantime, after the death of the first Richard Lee, Nicholas Spencer and John Washington, Westmoreland's two burgesses, had had the property surveyed. These men possessed great influence in their county and the survey naturally resulted in litigation which went on for a number of years. In the midst of this the Northern Neck Proprietary was established in 1670, a most pernicious piece of folly on the part of Charles II, of which his two worthless favorites, Lords Arlington and Culpeper, were the beneficiaries. By this time, however, Richard Lee II was sufficiently strong in the Council to prevent the issuing of a new patent to the property in the name of Spencer and Washington, but this state of affairs was not to con-

tinue, for in 1671 Spencer was himself elevated to the Council. His appointment greatly increased his prestige, and in 1675 he was able to secure a patent from the Proprietors of the Northern Neck to the property in question. With this as a trump card he succeeded in securing a Virginia patent in 1677 after the Governor, Sir William Berkeley, returned to England. This contest over the Mount Vernon lands, between the Lees on one side and Spencer and Washington on the other, was practically decided in 1680 by the appointment of Culpeper, a relative of Spencer as well as an arrant rascal, as Governor of Virginia. Add to this Lee's vigorous opposition to the King's bestowal of the Proprietorship on Culpeper and Arlington, and it becomes clear why the Lee interests were frozen out. Even so, Spencer for a long time seems to have had but little confidence in the validity of his title to these lands, and Richard Lee II evidently cherished some hope to his own claim as late as 1714, when he bequeathed his "right, title and claim" to his daughter.

John Washington died in January, 1677, and Spencer in 1689. Washington left his interest in this estate to his son Lawrence (1661-1698) who was married in 1690 to Mildred, the daughter of Augustine Warner of Gloucester. Lawrence in turn devised his share of the property to his daughter Mildred, who later married Roger Gregory and in 1726 deeded her part in the estate to her brother, Augustine Washington (1674-1743), father of George. Sometime during the year 1734 Augustine moved with his family from Wakefield, the Washington home in Westmoreland, to the Mount Vernon property, when the future General was nearly three years old.²⁰ Here they seem to have resided for about five years, until their house was destroyed by fire.²¹ They then moved to the Ferry Farm opposite Fredericksburg, where Augustine Washington died in 1743, leaving the Mount Vernon estate to his son Lawrence.²²

This son, born in 1716, was educated in England, and after returning to Virginia took part in the ill-fated expedition under Admiral Vernon to Cartagena, from which he returned in 1742 with his health permanently impaired. He was married on the 19th of July, 1743, to Anne Fairfax, eldest daughter of Colonel William Fairfax of Belvoir. They settled on the Mount Vernon property and built the central portion of the present mansion, consequently the oldest part of the house, and gave the place its name, after the admiral under whom Lawrence had served.

It seems probable that George Washington as a boy made his home there with them for a while. In 1748, when he was sixteen, he made his first journey beyond the Blue Ridge and kept his first journal, which records his return to Mount Vernon, though it does not expressly state that he started from there. Soon after this he made his first survey, of a cow pasture along the Potomac. His plot of this survey is a fine piece of work and may be seen in the Library of Congress, where it is labeled in his hand "A Plan of Alexandria and Belhaven." His next journal records his trip to Barbados with his brother Lawrence, whose health was failing. There George suffered smallpox. This was his only visit to a foreign country. He returned alone to Virginia and again went to Mount Vernon, where he appears to have remained until after Lawrence's death the following year, when Governor Dinwiddie sent him to the Ohio to deliver the remonstrance to the French commander.

And now once more the Lees come into the story. Lawrence Washington died on the 26th of July, 1752, and in September the last of his children followed him to the grave. His wife returned to Belvoir, and in December became the second wife of George Lee of Mount Pleasant. As Mount Vernon had been willed to her for life, after which it was to go to George Washington, it thus in a sense returned to the Lee family on the day of her second marriage. However, Washington was able to secure immediate possession of it through an agreement with George Lee which called for an annual rental of fifteen thousand pounds of tobacco or a cash settlement of twelve shillings six pence for every hundredweight of tobacco.²³ He prevailed upon his younger brother, John Augustine, to come and live there with him and manage the estate while he took part in the Braddock campaign of 1756. This arrangement did not last long, for John Augustine soon left to marry Hannah Bushrod, and settled at Bushfield on the Nomini. Forty-three years later, in the summer of 1799, Washington honored the memory of this beloved brother, then long deceased, by bequeathing Mount Vernon to his son in his last will and testament:

To my nephew, Bushrod Washington, and his heirs (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father, while we were bachelors and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate, during my military services . . . that if I should fall therein Mount

Vernon should become his property) I give and bequeath all that part which is comprehended within the following limits, etc.

This will contains much that is of interest. It begins without a profession of faith, it was prepared without legal assistance, and his signature has no witnesses. He signed his name at the bottom of each of the twenty-nine pages save one, but omitted the final "nine" in writing the date, making it appear that it was prepared in 1790 instead of 1799. In it he provided for the arbitration of disputes and ordered the manumission of his slaves after his wife's death, since, due to the intermarriage between her own and his, it was not possible to do so earlier. To his wife and her heirs forever he left the household effects; the more important of these, such as the silver plate and the Cincinnati china, passed to her grandson, George Washington Parke Custis, and were removed to his home at Arlington. It is said that when Judge Bushrod Washington took possession of Mount Vernon in 1802, following her death, the house contained but one article, a portrait of Lawrence Washington, which no one seemed to want.

The regime of Judge Washington, who was a son of John Augustine, lasted until his death in 1829, and during this period the social life of the place was at a low ebb, as his position on the Supreme Court necessitated his living elsewhere. However, during this time there were two incidents worth recording. The first occurred on August 24, 1814, when a British fleet sailed by on its way to sack Alexandria and burn the public buildings in Washington. It had been feared that Mount Vernon would also be destroyed, but to the amazement of its occupants the enemy instead fired a salute. The other event was of a happier character; it was the visit of the venerable Lafayette in October, 1824, to the home and tomb of his old chief.

Bushrod Washington died without issue and the property descended to his nephew, Colonel J. Augustine Washington (1789-1832). He was the son of Corbin Washington and Hannah, a daughter of Richard Henry Lee. The latter's son, Thomas, had married Corbin's sister, Mildred. Family ties were close in those days. Colonel Washington in turn had a son bearing his name, who was the last private owner of Mount Vernon. Just as in the beginning the property had been identified with the Lees, so it was in the latter days, for the last two generations of Washingtons to live there were descendants of Richard Henry Lee, and through their Corbin line re-

lated to every member of the Lee family who could claim descent from Mrs. Richard Lee II.

There is evidence to show that the Lees kept up their contacts with this place that was dear to them, certainly in George Washington's time. His diaries disclose the fact that nearly fifty members of the Lee family enjoyed his hospitality there over a period of time. The edition of his journals published in 1925 by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association²⁴ includes all his extant diaries. While they throw some new light on his character and add to our knowledge of some of the old Virginia families, the casual reader will be disappointed if he expects to find heretofore unknown details of the Braddock campaign, the War of Independence, or his two terms as president. Furthermore, all the entries are distressingly brief. But the four volumes contain a voluminous index and footnotes, and while there is much dry detail concerning the state of the crops, weather conditions, etc., the General did carefully list the names of all visitors, and the time of their arrival and departure.

Mount Vernon seems to have been the scene of many successful courtships. We note that Charles Lee of Alexandria was apt to have business with the General at a time when Nancy Lee was a guest there, and we find that William Hodgson accompanied Richard Bland Lee and his charming ward, Miss Portia Lee, when they dined with the host of Mount Vernon, and that Light Horse Harry Lee was used by his sister Mary as a chaperon for herself and Philip R. Fendall while guests there.

The first mention of a member of the Lee family in the diaries occurs on July 25, 1767, when Washington planted some turnip seed sent him by a "Colo Lee." This is Colonel Henry Lee of Leesylvania, who with his lady visited Mount Vernon on September 24, 1768. This is their only visit recorded in the diary, though Washington stopped at their home on three different occasions (1769, 1771, and 1772) on his way to represent his county in the House of Burgesses in Williamsburg.

The first visitors of the Lee family to be recorded in the diary were William and Arthur Lee, who arrived on July 6, 1768. Arthur remained two nights and returned to dinner on the 13th in the company of Colonel Fairfax of Belvoir, where he evidently was staying. William left after one night and there is no record of any further

visits on his part, though Arthur was a frequent visitor during 1785-88 and once dined with President Washington in New York when the seat of government was in that city.

A Colonel Richard Lee is mentioned several times. This was undoubtedly Richard Henry Lee, since he was the only Richard Lee enjoying that title in his generation. He, with Thomas Ludwell Lee, spent the night of May 3, 1775, on his way to the Continental Congress. On June 15 of this same year Washington was appointed to the supreme command of the army, but no mention is made of this in his journal.

So far as the Lee family is concerned, the honor of being the most frequent visitor to Mount Vernon belongs to Philip R. Fendall of Alexandria, who stopped there once in 1770 when he was living in Charles County, Maryland, and on eighteen other occasions between the years 1785 and 1786. This gentleman, a grandson of Philip Lee of Maryland, showed a great partiality for his own kin, for he was the husband, successively, of three Lee women.²⁵ On September 6, 1786, Washington wrote that "Mr. and Mrs. Fendall came in on their [way to] Esquire Lee's of Maryland (who is very ill) and stayed all night." Squire Richard Lee, of Blenheim in Maryland, who was Fendall's uncle as well as his current father-in-law, survived this illness and lived for three more years. The diary continues: "September 7th. Mr. and Mrs. Fendall crossed the ferry early." And on September 9th: "Mr. and Mrs. Fendall arrived (about 6 P.M.)."

On January 28, 1787, there is this entry: "Colo Henry Lee [Light Horse Harry], his Lady, Miss Lee and Mr. Fendall came here to dinner, the last of whom went away afterwards (crossing the river for Maryland)." The diary tells us that Mr. Fendall returned on the 31st, and that the party left the following morning. The "Miss Lee" was probably Light Horse Harry's sister, Mary, who later became Fendall's third wife.

Light Horse Harry visited Mount Vernon a total of fourteen times, beginning as a young man on the 16th of April, 1775, when the British were preparing to march on Lexington and Paul Revere was grooming his steed for his famous ride. These visits were frequent during the period between 1786-89 and 1797-99. Another frequent visitor was Charles Lee, Washington's Attorney General. He was there on seventeen occasions during 1785-88 and 1797-99, though

never for more than one night. Richard Bland Lee visited the place five times, usually in the company of other members of the family. Ludwell Lee paid several visits there and on one occasion entertained the General and his wife at his home on Shuter's Hill near Alexandria. He was the last member of the Lee family to dine at Mount Vernon during the General's lifetime.

Frequent mention is made in the diaries of Thomas Sim Lee, war-time governor of Maryland, who was associated with Washington in the Potomac Company, a project for improving the navigation of the river of that name and ultimately connecting it by a canal with the Ohio. Governor Lee visited Mount Vernon as early as 1768. Theodorick Lee was another visitor on more than one occasion, and also mentioned, in the entry for March 30, 1773, was Lancelot Lee, son of George Lee and Anne Fairfax.²⁶ Thomas Ludwell Lee and his son Aylett stopped there on the 14th of September, 1786.²⁷

William Hodgson of Alexandria, who married Portia Lee and did some of his courting at Mount Vernon, as we have seen, first appears in the diary for June, 1788. Washington had trouble with this gentleman's name, and called him Hodgson, Hodgden, and finally, after his marriage, Hodgson. On February 25, 1774, Hancock Lee, third of the name, dined there. He was employed at the time as a surveyor for the Ohio Company and was about to return to Kentucky, where he is remembered in connection with the early explorations in the vicinity of the present city of Louisville.

Philip Richard Francis Lee of the Maryland house visited Mount Vernon on November 13, 1774, to invite Washington to take command of the Prince William Independent Company, which he agreed to do. This Lee was afterward a captain in the Third Virginia Regiment and was wounded at the Brandywine. Edmund Jennings Lee is mentioned as a visitor on three occasions and his wife on one. He was honored with a written invitation to dinner on September 3, 1798; he was unable to attend but his brother Charles was among those present on that night.

Thomas Lee Shippen has left the impressions of a visit there in the company of his uncle, Arthur Lee, on their famous tour of Virginia in 1790. This was Arthur's last visit, and as it occurred while Washington was President there is no record of it in the diaries. Shippen wrote:

Mount Vernon, 16 Sept., 1790

My dear Father and Friend:

This is to be sure a delightful place. Nothing seems wanting to render it the fit residence of its owner, worthy to employ and amuse the leisure of so great a man as our President. . . . I have been here two days, and have seen most of the improvements which do honour at once to the taste and industry of our Washington. I have been treated as usual with every most distinguished mark of kindness and attention. Hospitality indeed seems to have spread over the whole place its happiest, kindest influence. The President exercises it in a superlative degree, from the greatest of its duties to the most trifling minutiae, and Mrs. Washington is the very essence of kindness. Her soul seems to overflow with it like the most abundant fountain and her happiness is in exact proportion to the number of objects upon which she can dispense her benefits. I have some difficulty in leaving them so soon.²⁸

It is easy to see that young Shippen was experiencing a thrill, and that the Washingtons were trying to repay the many kind attentions they had received as guests of the Shippens in Philadelphia.

Chapter III

PECKATONE

PECKATONE, the seat of the Corbin family, was situated on the Potomac in lower Westmoreland, about three miles from the Mount Pleasant estate (Plate XXVIII). It was patented by Nicholas Jernew in 1650, at the period of the earliest settlements on the Potomac, and passed into the possession of Henry Corbin, first of that family, on March 26, 1664, at which time a new patent was issued in his name. The property was to the northeast of the present site of the Lee tombs in Burnt House Field, at the corner where in 1670 the four neighbors, Henry Corbin, John Lee, Isaac Allerton, and Thomas Gerrard erected their celebrated "banqueting hall," some features of which met with the disapproval of Bishop Meade, one of Corbin's descendants.

The Corbins are a proud race, with a pedigree going back twenty-three generations. Henry Corbin, founder of the family in Virginia, was himself a distinguished man and the forefather of illustrious progeny. He was born at Hall End in Warwickshire in 1629, the third son of Thomas Corbin and his wife, Winefred, a daughter of Gawen Grosvenor of Sutton Colfield, Warwickshire. He came to Virginia in the good ship *Charity* about 1654, when he was twenty-five years old, and settled on the Rappahannock in what is now Middlesex County. The original patent to this land has never been found, but when the property was sold in 1825 there were twenty-five hundred acres in the estate. It should be understood that Henry Corbin did not build the magnificent mansion called Buckingham House, whose ruins may be seen there today.²⁹ Neither did he build Peckatone, but he did own the land on which these two fine houses arose after his death, as well as the estate on the Potomac afterwards known as Leesylvania.

Henry Corbin served as Burgess from Lancaster in 1659, as Justice

for Middlesex in 1673, and was a member of the Council as early as 1663. He was married on July 25, 1645, to Alice Eltonhead, daughter of Richard Eltonhead of Lancaster County, England. Like the celebrated "King" Carter, Corbin had a flock of daughters, and like Carter, he displayed genius in planning for their welfare. In those days girls married when they were about sixteen, hence they could not be expected to select husbands unaided. In return, the women showed a deference for the men of the family, including their brothers-in-law, that has vanished in an age when they have their own bank accounts. Henry Corbin's sons-in-law were Richard Lee II, Philip Lightfoot, LeRoy Griffin, William Tayloe, and Edmund Jenings, Acting Governor of Virginia for four years, and the man who was to give Thomas Lee his start in life. Four out of these five became councillors. We are particularly concerned with two of them: Richard Lee II, who married Laetitia Corbin and was the forerunner of all the Stratford Lees; and Edmund Jenings (or Jennings), who married Frances Corbin, lived at Ripon Hall on the York River near Williamsburg and produced a son, Edmund Jenings II, and two daughters, Frances and Elizabeth.

Edmund Jenings II (1697-1756) became Secretary of the Colony of Maryland. By his wife, Ariana van der Heyden, he had a daughter of the same name who married John Randolph of Williamsburg and became the mother of Edmund Randolph, Attorney General of the United States. A son, Edmund Jenings III, appears in William Lee's letters and in many accounts of diplomatic affairs in France during the Revolution. He was the donor of the portrait of the Earl of Chatham which hangs in the courthouse at Montross in Westmoreland.

Frances Jenings' husband was Colonel Charles Grymes of Morattico, Richmond County, and their two daughters, Lucy (the "Lowland Beauty") and Frances, were the wives, respectively, of Henry Lee of Leesylvania and Philip Ludwell III. Frances Jenings was thus the great-grandmother of General Robert E. Lee.

Elizabeth Jenings, the other daughter of Edmund Jenings I, married Robert Porteus of Newbottle on Jones Creek near the York River in Gloucester. It is now known as Concord. (For map of the Rappahannock and York River sections, *see* endpapers.) Robert Porteus was born in 1679, the son of Edward Porteus the emigrant from England, whom we know to have been living in Gloucester as

early as 1681, for he was a vestryman of Petsworth Parish in that year. Robert Porteus was appointed to the Council in 1713 and was a member of it until he moved to England between 1725 and 1730. There he settled in York and later in Ripon, perhaps because of his father-in-law's former association with this place, for which he had named his Virginia home, Ripon Hall. Porteus died in 1758 and is buried in Ripon Cathedral and his wife in the city of York. Their son Beilby, born May 8, 1781, was chaplain to George III and Bishop of Chester and London. He was related closely to both William Lee and his wife, Hannah Philippa Ludwell, and was intimate with them during their residence in London. He died May 14, 1808.³⁰

These were some of Henry Corbin's notable descendants through his daughters. His son Gawin also had a distinguished career, serving as both Burgess and Councillor in the colony. He was married three times, and inherited the Peckatone estate. Whether he built the house of that name we do not know, but he evidently did not live there himself. When his son, Gawin II, married Hannah Lee of Stratford it became their home and a center of social life in that locality.

Peckatone was a spacious and massive quadrangular building of English brick, with immense halls and wainscoted walls. Wide platforms in front and rear, reached by broad flights of stone steps, took the place of porches and afforded a pleasing view of far-extending lawns and fields on one side and the river gleaming through the trees on the other. A wall extended from one corner of the main building to a brick kitchen and servants' quarters; on the opposite side, but more distant, stood the spacious brick stable. Extensive grounds surrounded the mansion, adorned with many shade trees and graveled walks. All this, plus a profusion of fruits and flowers, a fine beach, and the cooling breath of salt water, made Peckatone a delightful place for summer sojourns.³¹

Gawin Corbin II died in 1760 at an early age, leaving Hannah with a daughter, Martha, and a large plantation to manage during all the vicissitudes of the Revolution. Hannah survived him for many years, and situated as she was, in the midst of her own people, she made Peckatone a Lee mansion. Her daughter married a cousin, George Turberville, in 1769, and their children Gawin, Richard, and Hannah grew up at Peckatone. Gawin, the eldest of the Turberville children, inherited the place and in 1795 brought Mary Daingerfield there as a bride. She was a daughter of Colonel John Daingerfield of Essex, who

had served in the Revolutionary army. Richard Turberville, the second son, married Richard Henry Lee's daughter, Henrietta (Harriot), and settled at Chantilly in Fairfax County. Hannah Turberville, the daughter of the house, became the bride of Dr. Richard Baysie of Northumberland and afterward married Hancock Eustace of Stafford and died without issue.

The next owner was Mary Willis Turberville, daughter of Gawin Corbin Turberville and Mary Willis Daingerfield. She was wed to William F. Taliaferro of King George County in December of 1815 and for nearly twenty-five years they lived at Peckatone. A large and attractive family, mostly daughters,³² grew up around its hearthstone, adding another bright chapter to its history. Martha Fenton Taliaferro, one of these daughters, married George Frederick Brown in 1840 and they owned and occupied Peckatone from that time until 1861. During part of that time the younger Taliaferro girls lived there with them; later their own daughters, Mary and Harriet, enlivened the place. Mary, the elder, was married there just before the Civil War to John Murphy in a double wedding to which her aunt, Catherine Taliaferro, and Dr. W. W. Rose were the other parties. The lavish hospitality and joyous gaiety of that brilliant occasion gave no warning of the approaching calamity. Within a few weeks Mr. Brown was dead and soon after came the war. The family moved to a place of greater safety and the happy home became a silent, saddened, and desolate place. After the war Captain Murphy and his family returned there to live and Mrs. Brown and her daughter Harriet made it their residence for a time. In the autumn of 1865 this daughter, Harriet Fenton Brown, became the bride of Dr. Horace A. Brooks of Baltimore in a ceremony held at Peckatone, and for a brief interval, despite the ravages of war, the old place seemed to recapture something of its past glories. A large company of guests was present on this occasion; the parlors glowed with lights, the family servants moved about their work with the ease and familiarity of yore, the oysters on the supper table were as luscious as any the neighboring creek beds had ever furnished. This was the last family nuptial scene the old house was to see, for before long the deprivations of the war forced the owners to sell it, and it passed into the hands of strangers. On Thursday night, October 21, 1886, it burned to the ground.³³

NOTES

PART FIVE

¹ See Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, for an account of this.

² *Virginia Magazine of History*, V (1898), 245-46.

³ John Esten Cooke, *Virginia* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1883), 296.

⁴ John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1897), II, 98.

⁵ Rich Neck was formerly the home of Richard Kemp, whose widow married Sir Thomas Lunsford.

⁶ Major Burwell, first of the name in Virginia, in 1648 patented 2,350 acres on the south side of Carter's Creek in Gloucester. The house, built in 1692, was originally called Fairfield, but has always been better known as Carter's Creek. It was located about two miles above Rosewell, the Page home, and may be seen on the map of Gloucester (*see* endpaper). It was recently destroyed by fire.

⁷ After Colonel Parke's death, Jane Ludwell Parke was left to reside with her two daughters in great seclusion at Queene's Creek on the York River near Williamsburg. Frances, the eldest of these two girls, a "haughty beauty" with considerable temper, married Colonel John Custis of Arlington on the Eastern Shore. The younger daughter, Lucy, became the first wife of Colonel William Byrd of Westover. Both sisters died of smallpox, Frances in Virginia and Lucy while visiting in London.

⁸ Lucy Higginson Ludwell was buried beside Major Burwell, her first husband, at Carter's Creek. Her tombstone, erected by her Burwell grandchildren, makes no mention of her second or third husband. The tombs were recently moved to Abingdon churchyard for better preservation.

⁹ This brick house in Jamestown was destroyed in Bacon's Rebellion the following year.

¹⁰ Ludwell went on to say that Governor Jeffrys "was a worse rebel than Bacon, for he had broke the laws of his country, which Bacon never did; that he was perjured; was not worth a groat in England, and if every pitiful little fellow with a periwig that came in Governor of this country had the liberty to make the laws as he had done, his children nor no man's else could be safe in the title or estate left them." Charles Campbell, *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1860), 327-28.

¹¹ Secretary Spencer, writing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations on February 26, 1687, complains that when Major Arthur Allen was turned out of his surveyor's place by the Governor, Ludwell had given it to Major Samuel Swann, "as troublesome as any of the rest," and had given the surveyor's place held by Beverley, who had also been deprived of all his offices, to his (Beverley's) son. An additional aggravation seemed to be that this was considered one of the best surveyor's places in the country. See *Virginia Magazine of History*, I, 176.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV (1897), 17. Letter from N. Blakiston in London to Philip Ludwell, Jr., in Virginia, April 28, 1710: "I saw y^r Father about 2 days agoe who still continues ill in his eyes." *William and Mary Quarterly*, XII (1904), 135-37. Letter from the Rev. Stephen Fuace in London to Philip Ludwell, Jr., in Virginia, August 10, 1710: "I waited on Collo Ludwell about a week ago . . . I think you don't do well to stir up in him the longing he hath to return into Virginia. He is now tolerably well, makes shift to read with very magnifying spectacles. He is often troubled with his usual distempers. He seldom stirs abroad, which I tell him is very injurious to his health."

Virginia Magazine of History, XXIII (1915), 361. Letter from William Bassett in Virginia to Philip Ludwell, Jr., in England, September 22, 1713: "All my Family Salutes . . . pray you will present them to your Father."

Ibid., III (1896), 353-56. Letter from Thomas Ludwell of Bruton, England, to Philip Ludwell, Jr., of Greenspring, January 4, 1724.

¹³ These grants on the Rappahannock between Persimmon and Tinpot Runs aggregated 5,860 acres. (*Northern Neck Records*, IV, 219-21.) Another grant made to Innis Hooper in 1715 for 2,060 acres on the branches of the Great Marsh Run was regranted to George Eskridge when the deed lapsed (*ibid.*, V, 61, 171), and passed to Philip Ludwell before 1727. These lands, together with 2,658 acres on the western branches of the Elk Marsh and also on Tinpot Run, originally taken by William Thornton in 1751 (*ibid.*, 91) constituted the property known as Ludwell Park, which Charles Carter of Cleve devised to his son Landon Carter, stating that he bought it from Philip Ludwell. See *Virginia Magazine of History*, XXXI (1923), 53.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 350.

¹⁵ *Ludwell MSS.*, Virginia Historical Society.

¹⁶ The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. William J. Boothe of Alexandria.

¹⁷ On page 59 of Lancaster's *Historic Virginia Homes* there is a description of Greenspring. Mr. Lancaster speaks of a "central building containing six rooms and a large hall, with a commodious wing on either side." He goes on to say that "the fireplaces were four feet wide and nearly as deep and there was a central chimney seven feet wide." We believe this describes the later house and not the original mansion erected by Berkeley.

¹⁸ Bolton was likewise confused about the birth date of Philip Ludwell, Jr. On page 840 of his book he erroneously states that he was born in 1662, while on the next page, in his Ludwell chart, it is correctly given as 1672. The birth date of Philip Ludwell III is also mistakenly given as 1700 instead of 1716.

¹⁹ See Colonel Richard Lee's land grants, Part I, Chapter II.

²⁰ This can be proved by entries in old Truro Vestry Book, discovered in 1889 by the Rev. Philip Slaughter.

²¹ This fire is not to be confused with the burning of Wakefield, which occurred on Christmas Eve, 1779.

²² An interesting survey was made of the Mount Vernon estate in 1741, in connection with a suit between two neighbors. It shows that 4,253 acres were situated below the old Spencer line. A reference to this survey will be found in Harrison's *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, page 56, note 47.

²³ *Fairfax County Deeds*, C, 822.

²⁴ John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Diaries of Washington* (1748-99), Regent's Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925).

²⁵ See Note 20, Part II.

²⁶ On Theodorick Lee's first visit Washington abbreviated his name to "Theodc.," which is unmistakable. But in transcribing the diaries for publication the editors read the first entry as "Theode.," and listed it as Theodore in the index. A similar mistake was made over Lancelot Lee. Washington abbreviated this to "Lan.," which was transcribed to "Law." and called Lawrence in the index. There has been but one Lawrence Lee, a present-day member of the family.

²⁷ Washington himself made some errors in his journal. He calls this boy Elliot, whereas it was actually William Aylett, and he was known as Aylett, his mother's maiden name. The name was pronounced as though spelled "Aliot," which naturally confused the General.

²⁸ Shippen MSS., Library of Congress.

²⁹ According to Bishop Meade, this house had a private chapel. The old foundations give an idea of the extent of the place, which also has one of the largest private graveyards in Virginia. A number of very handsome tombs may still be seen there today.

³⁰ Beilby Porteus was also the ancestor of the present Queen Elizabeth II of England, through her maternal line.

³¹ From an account in *The Baltimorean* in December, 1886, by the Rev. George W. Beale of Buchanan, Botetourt County, Virginia, distinguished soldier, clergyman, genealogist, and kinsman of the Lees.

³² The children of Mary Willis Turberville and William F. Taliaferro were as follows:

1. *Martha Fenton*. She married George Frederick Brown about 1840 and died March 4, 1900.
2. *Cornelia Lee*. Her first husband was Lt. Jamieson, U.S.N., and her second, Brigadier General Lewis Armistead, who died at Gettysburg.
3. *Elizabeth Madison*. She married Dr. B. F. Brown.
4. *Catherine Corbin*. She married Dr. W. W. Rose.
5. *Gawin Corbin*.

³³ From the Rev. Mr. Beale's account.

Part Six ❧ ❧ ❧

REMINISCENCES

Part Six

REMINISCENCES

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INTRODUCTION

LUDWELL LEE of Belmont, a son of Richard Henry Lee, had a daughter, Matilda, who in 1811 married Richard Hendly Love of Fairfax County (Plate XXIX). Many years later, when she was an old lady, she set down for her children and grandchildren a series of recollections. The portion reproduced here was written between 1857 and 1867, when she was living in the South with her daughter, Flora,¹ the wife of the Rev. William Johnson, an Episcopal clergyman. It covers the period from just after the Revolution to about 1836, and is of particular interest to all those who have tender memories of Alexandria and its environs. Mention is made in its pages of many well-known personages of those days. Also included here are reminiscences of the daughter, Flora (Love) Johnson; they begin shortly after the War of 1812 and continue into the 1830's, but contain references to people and events of earlier times.²

Ludwell Lee, father and grandfather of Matilda Love and Flora Johnson, was born on October 13, 1760, at Chantilly, and with his brother Thomas was sent to England to school in the care of William and Arthur Lee. Of Thomas very little is known after their return to America in 1780.³ Ludwell, the younger of the two, was enrolled at William and Mary College, despite his father's limited regard for this place as an institution of learning. He soon left to enlist in the army as a dragoon or, as his father expressed it, shifted from law to war. He became a member of Lafayette's staff, took part in the Battle of Greenspring, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. About the first of March, 1783, he re-entered the College and took the law lectures under the noted George Wythe. Six years later, in January, 1789, he was married to his first cousin, Flora Lee, younger daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee of Stratford, where the wedding doubtless took place. Flora's sister Matilda, wife of Light Horse Harry Lee, was mistress of this estate at the time.

Ludwell Lee represented Prince William County in the Virginia Assembly, first as a member of the House (1787-90), and later in the Senate (1792-1800), where he was Speaker from November, 1796, to December, 1799. A Federalist in politics, he retired from public life when that party went into a decline. Just when he moved to Alexandria is uncertain, but records show that he was appointed to the vestry of Christ Church there on April 22, 1795, and duly elected to serve three years on March 28, 1796. He does not appear to have attended any meetings, but this could have been because of his duties in Richmond.

About 1793 he purchased property on Shuter's Hill, the high promontory outside Alexandria that is now the site of the Masonic Memorial to George Washington. He lived there until about 1799, when he and his second wife, Elizabeth Armistead, conveyed this estate to Benjamin Dulaney for the sum of £5,000 and moved to Loudoun County. Here, near Leesburg, he built the elegant home he called Belmont. He died on March 23, 1836, at the age of seventy-six.⁴

Chapter I

RECOLLECTIONS OF MATILDA LEE LOVE

I HAVE often thought I would write some account of my early days for my grandchildren, and as my favorite grandson Richard Love Johnson has expressed a wish that I do so, I will willingly do it.

I was born September 13, 1790 in the glorious state of Virginia [in] Fairfax County at Shuter's Hill, from which height, spread out before you, was a panoramic view of Washington, Georgetown, and the noble Potomac. My parents were of Virginia's noblest blood, my father being a son of Richard Henry Lee, and my mother a niece, being the daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee. My father Ludwell Lee was sent to Europe at the age of twelve years to be educated. He remained there [in England] four years. The Revolutionary War breaking out, he was sent to Paris and put in a military school to fit him for the army. He remained there four years, and returning here, was placed on General Lafayette's staff. He was at the surrender of Yorktown, and I heard him mention that on that occasion he was standing near the General when Cornwallis offered his sword to General Lafayette instead of General Washington, whereupon Lafayette bowed and pointed to Washington.

After the war my father went to William and Mary College and took the first honor there. He was then elected to the Virginia Senate and served ten years as the speaker of that body. He had the honor of serving with Patrick Henry, and I have heard him mention an anecdote of the latter which shows how much he [Henry] was under the influence of Pa's father, Richard Henry Lee. When they were first agitating the subject of banks he told Pa he knew nothing of the banking system, as R. H. Lee never talked to him of banks!

After the election of Jefferson, to whom Pa was directly opposed, he retired into private life. He was often solicited to enter the arena of politics again, but his answer was "When wicked men bear sway, the post of honor is a private station." He lived in elegant retirement, beloved and honored, to a good old age.

I would like to describe my home [on Shuter's Hill, Alexandria] as I knew it. The house was large and roomy. You entered a large passage; to the right was a spacious dining room, elegantly furnished. A large press with glass doors held the silver, glass, and china. We were waited on by three stately servants in livery, which was blue turned up with white, with buckskin short breeches with shoes and stockings. Across the passage on the left was an elegantly furnished drawing room with mirrors down to the floor, before which I have danced many a day. Beyond that was the chamber and nursery. My father drove a chariot and four white horses, which were paraded out when I wanted to go to Alexandria to buy morocco shoes, of which I was very fond.

Being born so near the time of the adoption of our Constitution, which has raised this country to be one of the greatest Nations of the Earth, and my father [having] inherited his father's patriotism, I imbibed a love for politics which has clung to me all my life. My father was a Federalist, and an intimate friend of George Washington, whom I have had the honor of seeing often at my father's [home], and, too, at his [Washington's] accustomed seat in the House of Prayer, Christ's Church in Alexandria. When I was about three years old I came very near losing my life from a fall; on that occasion I remember seeing my grandfather, Richard Henry Lee.

At five years of age I had the misfortune to lose my mother, who left three children, of whom I was the eldest,—Cecilia, Richard, and myself, Matilda. Who can estimate the loss of a mother. None but those who have felt the want of her sympathy and love. . . . We lived at home with our father for about six months, when a sister ⁵ of my father took myself and my sister to live with her. We were such delicate children that a lady observed to Pa that we looked like plants raised in the dark. My Aunt was a great disciplinarian, and had several other children living with her, so we were soon brought into order. Under my aunt's care I learned the first rudiments of my education. I can remember to this day how proud I was when I read the sentence:

“No man may put off the law of God.” How often I have disregarded this precept is awful to think of.

About two years after my mother's death Pa married again,—a very pretty woman, a Miss Armistead of Fredericksburg. When his first daughter [Ann] was born [April 8, 1798] there was a great christening at Shuter's Hill. She . . . and my brother Richard Henry were baptised at the same time, and General Washington and his family were among the guests. Most of the persons there that day have passed away, and at nearly seventy-seven I am left to record it. 1798 then; now 1867.

It was soon found too onerous a task for so young a woman as Mrs. Lee to manage a wayward little Miss like myself, so I was sent to live with Mrs. Lewis (my stepmother's mother) and there I began my school life. Mrs. Lewis was the first person I remember giving me religious instruction. Finding me romping on Sunday she made me get the fourth commandment. I remember all the circumstances to this day. Oh, how careful everyone should be to sow the seeds of religion and duty to God and man in the tender heart of a child. After living with Mrs. Lewis a while, I was sent to boarding school, the best in the country in those days. Mrs. Strachan, the lady who kept it, had seen better days, and was well qualified for the task she had undertaken. Under her care, with fifteen others, I lived four years with as much joy and sorrow as is the lot of school girls. Schools then, and indeed all discipline, was a very different thing from what it is now. Children then were taught that their parents and teachers were to be honored and obeyed.

I have never since I left school seen any of my school mates. I was a great favorite of Mr. Strachan, and as my father was Speaker of the Virginia Senate, he always called me “the little speaker,” and would call me from my book to read the newspapers and talk politics with him, which was the all-absorbing topic of the day, as the contest was raging between the Federalists and Democrats, and much woe has the latter brought on this country. But I am anticipating.

At ten years of age I committed Gray's *Elegy* to memory, for I have always been a great lover of poetry, and found it easy to commit and retain, and a source of unfeigned pleasure . . . I would here record that the love of books has ever been the great blessing of my life. Though not a pious child, I think I was always conscientious, and

I believed in the efficacy of prayer, for I used to pray every night that I would live to see Pa, whom I loved with an enduring love.

At twelve years of age I returned home to live, and found my brother Richard and my sister Cecilia as unlearned as Indians. Though knowing very little myself, I tried to give them the benefit of that little, so I learnt them both to read. My father was so indulgent to his children that he never made them do anything they did not want to do, hence their ignorance. When my brother was eight years old, Pa got a teacher for him, but as he was very young we did not learn very much from him. As my father had moved to Loudon to live, and there being no school there, my education came to an end as far as school was concerned. Belmont, my home, was the seat of refinement and hospitality. Five miles from Leesburg (a town named after my grandfather,⁶ who was president of the King's council when we were Colonists), it was situated on the road cut by the unfortunate Braddock.

Being conscious of deficiencies as a scholar, I determined to study as far as I could, and for that end divided my time off in the following manner: I read history until twelve; at two I read some of the best standard poets and committed to paper or memory those thoughts that pleased me most,—Cowper's address to domestic happiness in his poem of the "Task" for instance, and the opening of Young's "Night Thoughts." Speaking of Young, I will here put down an impromptu by him to a lady with whom he was walking in a garden. Upon being told that someone wished to speak to him, and the lady urging him to go, he turned to her and said:

"Thus Adam looked when from the Garden driven,
And thus disputed orders sent from Heaven.
Like him I go but yet to go I'm loth,
Like him I go, for angels drove us both."

Men were more chivalrous in my young day than now, indeed they were. No such compliments are paid the ladies now in this Utilitarian age.

The rest of the day I devoted to light reading and company, of which we had a great deal, particularly in summer, as our connections were numerous, being related by marriage or blood to most of the old aristocracy of Virginia. At sixteen I came out in Alexandria as a young lady. My first entrance into that desirable state was on the

twenty-second of February, Washington's birthday. No act of my life then had I ever considered of such consequence. My sister and myself spent that winter with an uncle-in-law. His wife being dead, his house was presided over by a daughter about my own age, and you may be sure we had nice times; frequently we sat up until two in the morning playing cards when my uncle thought we were in bed.⁷ We had a delightful society in Alexandria then.

The next summer a brother of Mrs. Lee spent some time at Belmont. He was the handsomest I ever saw. He first taught my heart to love, and if some adverse circumstance not worth mentioning had not occurred, I should have been Mrs. Armistead. But everything happens for the best, I firmly believe. This summer was added to our family dear sister Elisa. I stood for her when she was baptised, and have ever loved her most dearly. . . .

The same summer my uncle Thomas Lee, my father's elder brother, died at Belmont of consumption. He left one daughter. This was the first time I was ever brought so near death (I was too young when my mother died to remember much about it), and I remember the fear and dread it made me feel.

I spent the next winter in Alexandria, and we had fine times, as my uncle, F. L. Lee,⁸ was married that winter to Miss Fitzgerald. It was the cause of great gaiety, as they both had large connections. At the party given at Mr. E. I. Lee's, who married my aunt, I danced a cotillion with W. Meade, the present bishop of Virginia. The year after, he was converted, studied for the ministry, and has been, under God, the means of reviving the church in Virginia, which at that time was in a very low state.

In the spring Cousin Nellie Lee, Uncle T(om) Lee's daughter, was married at Belmont, and I was one of her bridesmaids.⁹ Few things in life have seemed of so much consequence to me as that event, particularly as I was accused of making a conquest of the gentleman who waited with me, a Mr. Foote. An old servant amused us very much by saying she believed that "Mr. Toe" was in love with Miss Matilda. What added to my vanity was that uncle Frank, who was very fastidious, paid me the following compliment, which I prized so highly as never to forget it:

Hither turn thy graceful footsteps; hither, gentle maid, incline thy polished forehead; let thine eyes effuse the mildness of their azure

dawn. And may the fanning breezes waft aside thy radiant locks, disclosing as it bounds from the marble neck, the cheek fair blooming, and the rosy lip, where winning smiles and pleasures, sweet as love with sanctity and wisdom temp'ring, blend their soft allurements.

I don't write this with any vain feelings, but to give my children some idea of what I was at seventeen. The picture is highly drawn, as compliments usually are. I received a letter from this same uncle many years after, saying I was always one of his favorite nieces.

About this time of my life, Walter Scott appeared, to charm the world with the magic of his song, and with how much avidity I read him you may well conceive. He introduced a new taste in novel writing, which the world has profited by. And to think Scott died poor. . . .

At this time politics ran very high, it being the eve of Mr. Madison's election. My father, being a Federalist of the Washington school, opposed with all his [influence] the rise and domination of the Democratic party, and well he might, for it is that party which has consummated the ruin of the most glorious Republic the sun ever shone on. These were stirring times, for Bonaparte was an actor on the scene. With what avidity we looked for news then, at home and [from] abroad.

The next winter when we paid our annual visit to Alexandria, we found our cousin Ann Lee, with whom we had spent our time, engaged to be married to Walter Jones, a lawyer there, and a very talented man. My sister and myself were at the wedding, and went with her to pay a bridal visit to her aunt. We enjoyed everything we saw and heard. The summer after, we went to Faquar [Fauquier] to visit our cousin, Lucy Carter, and found her in the enjoyment of an elegant house, money, position, fine children, and everything to make life desirable. But alas, for the mutability of human happiness. In a few years she was separated from her husband, had her children taken from her, and spent the rest of her life in sorrow and in shade. The cause of all this has never come to my knowledge.

After my return home I went to Alexandria with my aunt, Mrs. E. [J.] Lee, for the purpose of attending the theatre, which was only open there in the summer. The orchestra was composed of about ten violins, which discoursed the sweetest music I have ever heard. I saw some of Shakespeare's best plays performed; Young Payne, who promised to be a great actor, but who left the stage early in life,

I saw in the character of Hamlet. His voice was so peculiar that three years after, I recognized him the moment he spoke.

I visited at Mount Vernon that summer for the first time, and I remember to this day what my feelings of awe and patriotism were as I approached the home of Washington. I had been taught to venerate the great and good. How different the youth of today; they venerate nothing.

The next winter I had the privilege of hearing some of the great men of the day debate for and against the War of 1812. Mr. Madison was elected, and was to be inaugurated in the spring. There was a Mr. Ray in the House who was always making war speeches; his head was very white, and a Scotchman who was very full of fun drew a caricature of him spinning his hair on a flax wheel. I saw Mr. Madison inaugurated, and was present at the ball given on the occasion. . . . As Mrs. Madison was of a very social disposition, and it was not etiquette for her to visit the people, she opened the presidential mansion for the reception of everybody who was properly introduced. I tried to get to the first drawing room, but it was raining and our carriage could not get near the door, so we had to be content with only hearing the music. When, a few days later we went, a party of Lees, to pay our respects to Mrs. Madison, the following incident occurred. The Government [had] bought from a relation of ours two immense mirrors imported by my great uncle, Mr. W[illiam] Lee,¹⁰ with the Lee crest, a squirrel, on them. Mrs. Madison drew our attention to them and said they wanted her to have the Eagle put in place of the squirrels, but indeed she could not part with the dear little squirrels. Mr. Madison was a relation of my stepmother, Mrs. Lee, and was always very civil to us, and we dined and stayed at the President's several times. My father never would go there, as he opposed the Democrats to the day of his death, and well he might, for have not their misdeeds severed this glorious Union which my grandfather toiled out his life to perfect.

The next summer my sister and myself were invited to attend the wedding of a friend of ours in Alexandria. It was an occasion of great festivity, and I well remember how anxious I was to look my best. It was at this wedding that I first saw Mr. R. H. Love, who was to control my future life. He has often told me he thought that night I was the most beautiful person he had ever seen. "Love is blind," they say. For myself, I don't remember being particularly struck

with Mr. Love, but when by his attentions I found he loved me, and as love begets love, I did not discourage him, and after a year of the ups and downs of true love, we were married. In consequence of the death of Mr. Love's sister, who was burned to death in that awful catastrophe, the burning of the theatre in Richmond, we had a very private wedding. . . .

I was received by every member of Mr. Love's family with an affection and kindness that has followed me through my married life and soothed [the] many cares incident [even] to the most fortunate. I inherited from my mother, who was very wealthy, a farm near the Little Falls of the Potomac, where we were to reside, and which I named Rokeby,¹¹ after Scott's poem of that name, as Matilda was the heiress of Rokeby. As our house was not ready for our reception we spent the time with our relations. The farthest north I have ever been was to the Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, [where some of them lived].

While I was at my father's the War of 1812 was declared. The Federalists were bitterly opposed to the war, as the same party, under a different name, have always been. Did any good ever come of war and bloodshed? The war found us totally unprepared, as we were dependent upon England for everything. A paper of pins then reached the enormous price of a dollar, and everything in proportion. As Mr. Jefferson had always opposed a navy, we had few ships, but those few did good service. While at Bedford a large detachment of soldiers passed through there on their way to Canada. It was the first time I ever saw an encampment. Would it had been the last!

We were still kept out of our house, so we spent the winter with Mr. C. Love, Mr. Love's brother, where I was treated with all the love of a sister. In that time [1813] I gave birth to my first son, who I named Ludwell Lee, and a sweeter little cherub never gladdened a mother's eyes. . . . I spent a part of the next summer at Dr. Selden's, whose wife was a sister of Mr. Love. I had often been told that I was like her, and upon my telling her so, she immediately said it was paying her a great compliment. This I merely mention to show the beauty of politeness. At Dr. Selden's I met Mr. Wickham, long a leader of the bar in Richmond, Virginia.

Early in the ensuing year we went to housekeeping, and I know it was the happiest time of my life, for I entered upon its duties determined to fulfill them as far as I was able . . . Mr. Love too was in-

dustrious and willing to help me. As I said before, we were in the midst of the war, but as it was far off, we did not feel it except for the expense we were at for everything.

In the following spring of 1814, it came more home to us, as the British got into our southern waters, and in August came up to Washington City and burnt all the public buildings. History has fully recorded our shameful defeat there under a miserable, imbecile government. As I lived about ten miles from Washington, above the Little Falls of [the] Potomac, Mrs. Madison and a number of city people took refuge at my house [Rokeby] the night the British took Washington; Mr. Madison had gone farther up the country. Early in the evening Mr. Monroe came to my house to look for Mr. Madison; as Mr. Monroe was weary I gave him his supper, and asked him if he thought I was safe where I was for the night. "Madam," he said, "as safe as if you were in the Allegheny Mountains." Oh, it was a trying time, for Mr. Love's company, with all the militia of the state of Virginia, was called out, and I was in a peck of trouble. Early in the morning after the burning of Washington Mr. Love made his appearance unhurt, much to my joy, but he had to leave soon again. As everything was so unsettled, we concluded to go into the interior of the country, and for that purpose set out, but were turned back by the alarm of a servile insurrection. So, thinking we would be safer near the army, we retraced our steps. I can't say I ever was afraid of any such thing. The man who was driving us kept saying he did not think his horses would get us back by night, and I, thinking he was in the plot, told my sister that if he did not go on, I would cock the gun we had in the carriage with us and threaten to shoot him, though I had never shot a gun in my life. I met a neighbor in the evening and told him what we had heard, and he was pleased to say that I was one of the most fearless women he had ever seen. When I got home I found everybody gone to town, having heard the same report.

I will here record an anecdote to show how little things keep up excitement. Soon after we got home a drum was heard; the time was come, and all were waiting the result in horror, when the gentleman, who had gone out to see who was coming, found an old man who lived at a mill nearby, beating a drum to scare away the rats! The gentlemen made him keep watch at my gate all night.

The British went back to their ships without further molestation, leaving their wounded to our care. Thanks to Mr. Monroe the Cabinet

was got together and law and order were once more restored. Mr. Love's company was detailed to look after the British prisoners, who after six weeks were exchanged, and he came home. Thus ended his military career.

From the unsettled state of things we made little or no crop that year. A few days after Mr. Love came home, my brother and some of my cousins came to spend the day with me; I lived near the Potomac river, they went in bathing, and a young cousin Richard Turberville was drowned. I thought my troubles would never cease.

Soon after, I had another son, whom I named Thomas Sim after Mr. Love's brother-in-law who lived in Washington. In one of my visits to Washington Dr. Sim had Thomas baptised at his house. Timothy Pickering, who had served in Congress with my grandfather, was at the christening, and upon being told that I was Richard Henry Lee's granddaughter, he said he thought I was like him. I was in Washington when the resolution passed Congress to send commissioners to Ghent to negotiate peace with England. I saw Mr. [Henry] Clay the evening before he left. He was a charming man in private and in public life. Oh, that we had such a man to help us in our hour of need!

The summer after, my sister Mary Ann was married to a Mr. Campbell of South Carolina. She had a grand wedding, at which we all met at home again, the last time for many years. How sad the breaking up of a family by marriages, business, and all the changes and ills which we meet with! Oh dear, that man alone is happy who sees a God employed in all the good and evil that checkers life.

I went from Belmont to Culpeper to visit a sister of Mr. Love, Mrs. J. Scott. We were there persuaded to sell out in Fairfax and remove to Culpeper. I, thinking it would be safer for Mr. Love to go to a richer and more productive soil, and away from his old associates, consented, sold and signed away my patrimony and lost it forever. Before I moved from Rokeby I lost my precious son Ludwell. Forty seven years have passed since then but well do I remember the anguish of this, my first real sorrow. From that time I date my decided religious life. I had already joined the church's communion, and felt I ought to live up to my baptismal vows, but Ludwell's death seemed to draw me nearer to God in faith and love.

My health was so wretched after Ludwell's death that it was thought it would be of service to me to go to Belmont, where my

dear brother Richard had brought his young bride and where all was gay and festive. I went to Belmont to stay a few weeks and while there my son Richard Lee Love was born. Dear little fellow, he had a hard struggle for life for two or three years. The summer after, we got settled in our new home in Culpeper county, Virginia, and I determined then to try and lead a useful life. . . .

The fall of that year I was again summoned to Belmont to the wedding of my dear sister Cecilia, who married Mr. J. L. McKenna of Alexandria, a widower with one child, a daughter.¹² That winter (10 June 1817) my long coveted daughter Flora was born, and I was as happy as it falls to the lot of people generally to be. . . .

Mr. Love did not succeed in farming, as after two years the place had to be sold to pay for itself. I spent some time with my relations until we could determine what to do. Finally Mr. Love rented the same place and we went back there to live. Soon my beloved son John was added to the family, and from that day to this he has been a treasure to me. May God ever bless him! The children were now getting old enough to learn, and I devoted myself to their instruction, and in that employment I was very happy, till it pleased God to call to Himself my darling Thomas. He died of croup at six years old. . . . The same fall my stepmother died a very triumphant death. I prayed constantly that such might be the case. It was a cause of great thankfulness to me, as we did not live very well together, and I valued her forgiveness. Mine she had long had. For her is the only time I ever wore mourning, as I was too young when my mother died to do so. . . .

My life passed on now pretty evenly, tho' Mr. Love never succeeded in agricultural pursuits. After three years my own darling Cecilia was added to my family. She was a sweet beautiful baby. When she was baptised in the church in Leesburg by the name of Matilda Cecilia Lee, Mr. Fenton Mercer, who was one of the beaux of my day, told me that when he heard her name called it awoke many a pleasant recollection.

As Mr. Love entirely failed, we had to give up the place, so we were again afloat. I went to live with Pa and Mr. Love tried to get some employment, but he did not succeed. Mrs. Forrest took Richard to live with her and go to school in Washington, and Mrs. Sim, another sister of Mr. Love, took Flora. After two years, being tired of such a life, I determined to open a school in Leesburg, the scene of

my young and proud days. School-keeping was not in such repute then as now, but to have my children with me and to educate them, I would have dared do anything lawful. . . .

As Richard was getting old enough to be doing something for himself, I wanted to put him in a printing office . . . Richard preferred going into the Navy, so when he was fifteen he got a commission, and was five years in the Mediterranean before I saw him again. Commodore Patterson took him for one of his aides, so he had an opportunity of seeing everything that was worth seeing. . . .

The winter after Richard went away in 1832, Mr. Love was taken sick and went into a rapid decline. He had dropsy, which terminated fatally in February, three days before we had been married twenty years. He was a sincere penitent . . . I have never seen anyone meet death with the composure he did; directed where he was to be buried and who was to preach his funeral sermon. The day before he died he told me, with his thanks for it, that my consistent conduct as a Christian had made him feel that there was a reality in religion, and finally led him to Jesus. . . . Mr. Love made me promise not to wear mourning for [him], and as I did not wear it for him I have never worn it for anyone else. I was left with three children dependent on me. My sister Mrs. McKenna took my youngest daughter Cecilia to live with her. I continued my school and with the help of kind friends I got along. I have always believed it was the blessing of God on Mr. Love's uncommon charity that his children never wanted for anything. He had been known, when travelling in Tennessee when that country was new and settling up, to give his horse to some poor traveller and walk to the next station and buy another one.

My father about this time began to decline, and after a few months he sought that rest that remains for the people of God. He was an example of what grace can do for fallen man, brought up in the lap of luxury and enjoying wealth and position; when misfortune deprived him of the former, I have heard him declare that he was happier in the possession of a reconciled Savior than he ever was before. I am writing now twenty-two years after my father's death, and for penitent submission to the will of God, and for every virtue which adorns humanity, I have never seen his equal. He was learned and talented too.

Soon after he died, my son Richard returned after five years

absence in the Mediterranean. My delight in seeing him may be imagined. He was a handsome, gay-hearted man, and oh, how proud I was of him. My father died in April, and on the first day of December, 1836, I left my sister Cecilia to come to Alabama to live with my daughter Flora Johnson. . . .¹³

Chapter II

RECOLLECTIONS OF FLORA LOVE JOHNSON

MY father was Richard Hendly Love, son of Samuel Love of Salisbury, Fairfax County, Virginia, who was the son of Samuel Love of Maryland. The family, of Welsh descent, was wealthy and influential. My grandfather married first a Miss Jane Jones of Maryland; second, Sarah Jones. My father was of the first marriage; his eldest brother Charles inherited the principal part of his father's estate. The history of the family will tell the rest.

My mother Eliza Matilda Lee [was the] daughter of Ludwell Lee (son of Richard Henry Lee) and Flora Lee, daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee of Stratford Hall, Westmoreland County, Virginia. Philip Ludwell Lee had only the two daughters: [Flora, and] Matilda, who married Gen. Henry Lee (Light Horse Harry). These two sisters inherited the family mansion, Stratford Hall, famous as the birthplace of Dr. Arthur Lee, minister to France and England. . . . It is also the birthplace of General Robert E. Lee. History tells of these distinguished men who belonged to their country as well as to us.

I will tell all I know of our immediate ancestors as I learned it from my mother. Our grandfather died early, leaving three children. The first, Philip Ludwell, died in infancy; then [came] my mother Eliza Matilda, then Cecilia, and last Richard Henry, an infant.

Our grandfather Ludwell Lee lived first at Shooter's Hill near Alexandria. He was speaker of the Senate for ten years—stood very high as a lawyer and politician—and was associated in the State Legislature with Patrick Henry, John Randolph, and the great men of that day, who adopted our constitution. He was educated in England and France, being while in France under the supervision of Marquis de

la Fayette and during the Revolutionary war chosen by him [as] his Aid. Two years after the death of his wife Flora Lee, he married the beautiful Betsy Armistead of Fredericksburg. She was only 17 and he 36; [I] suppose his wealth and position overcame the disparity of age. Loving the retirement of private life and home, he resigned his seat and built an elegant residence in Loudoun County, where he had very large landed interests. He called this beautiful estate Belmont. For many years [it was] widely known as the abode of hospitality and elegant refinement, all that wealth and culture could give. Here LaFayette was entertained on a visit to this country in 1825. John Q. Adams was president at that time [and] he and his cabinet accompanied LaFayette. I was quite a little girl then, but I remember his remarkable face.

My mother was said to be very beautiful—quite small—and her portrait painted by West confirmed the fact. She was very fair with blue eyes, very bright and witty. Entering life at the close of the Revolutionary war, all her family in public life, she was deeply interested in politics. In 1811 she met my father. After their marriage they resided on the large estate owned by my mother near the little Falls of the Potomac. . . . This place was named Rokeby. The War of 1812 was a bad time to begin life. Having both been raised in luxury, with no thought of money or business, and my father being very genial in his disposition, they soon, with bad management and neglect, together with the evils entailed by war, ran through the greater part of their inherited wealth.

When the British troops took Washington the President, Mr. Madison and wife, and the cabinet, took refuge at my father's—have heard my mother speak of it and of the fright &c.

A lovely boy was born [to my parents] in 1813, called Ludwell Lee. He died when only two years old. Then [was born] another boy, called Thomas Sim after my father's brother-in-law, a very prominent physician in Washington. Richard Lee, the third son, born at Belmont. Rokeby was sold and a very pretty farm bought on the Rapahanock river, Culpeper Co. Here I was born, Jan. 10th, 1817, the first daughter, giving great pleasure, as I was to bear my grandmother's name, Flora Lee.

I remember the large green lawn shaded by great oaks, and seeing my mother sitting on the lawn in the evening, spinning on the flax wheel, of which she was very fond. Three years after me came my

brother John, called for my father's Uncle who was then a member of Congress [and] lived at Buckland, Fairfax Co. This uncle then had no children; after the death of his wife, who was Jane Watson, he moved to Tennessee, married again, and had children.

Three years later my sister Cecilia Matilda Lee was born. My mother's only own sister Cecilia would have her, as she had no children of her own; she was married to Mr. James McKenna of Alexandria, a widower with one child, a dear little girl two years old, [whose] mother was the daughter of Mrs. Randolph of Eastern View, Fauquier Co. (a sister of Mrs. Henry Lee, mother of R. E. Lee). This child was much older than my sister, whom my Aunt adopted as soon as she was weaned. Throughout the life of this dear Aunt, Clarens, her lovely home near Alexandria, was our Eden. Nancy Randolph McKenna was a lovely girl. My aunt Ellen Lee, after the death of her mother lived with her sister [at Clarens]; she and Nancy were the same age and much attached to each other. Our dear Nancy married in 1835 Rev. C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina. After the death of her third child she died, regretted by all that knew her.

In 1830 my parents moved to Leesburg, five miles from Belmont and one from Exeter, the home of Dr. Wilson Cary Selden, who married the eldest sister of my father. She left an only son, Wilson Cary, who married my mother's sister Eliza Lee of Belmont. The Exeter estate descended to Wilson Cary Jr., who at this time resided there. His daughter Eleanor Love married John Augustine Washington of Mount Vernon. I think now with pleasure of the many happy hours of my girlhood spent at Exeter. Eliza Selden, sister of cousin Wilson, was a dear friend [and] was one of my bridesmaids.

My dearest friends in Leesburg were Harriet and Gustavia Wilson, daughters of a prominent physician there. There were two younger daughters, Julia & Penelope. The two elder ones have long since passed away; the youngest, Penelope, never married; now, after a separation of 62 years, we keep up the correspondence begun in 1835.

Our vacations were always spent at Clarens, an event anticipated the entire school year. When I was sixteen we went as usual. Clarens was a lovely summer residence one mile from the Theological School situated on Seminary Hill, three miles from Alexandria. It commanded a beautiful view of the Potomac, with the three cities on its banks: Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington. We attended

church at the Seminary. Rev. Drs. Keith, Lippitt and one or two others usually preached and one of the students read the service. It was a beautiful walk. We [would] set out together, a happy crowd, consisting usually of my mother, Nancy, Ellen and Emily Lee, my sister Cecilia, and sometimes Mary and Flora Lee, daughters of my uncle R. H. Lee, Professor in Washington College, Pennsylvania. Often [there were] other friends and relatives; one who sometimes joined us was Maria Washington of Mount Vernon.

In this year 1833 we went to church [and] a young student read the service; of course we were all anxious to know who he was, [and] were told it was William Johnson from South Carolina; it was said he was going as a missionary to China. We all thought him very handsome and he read remarkably well. As it was his vacation he left in a few days to spend his time in Philadelphia with a fellow student, John Martin, so I did not see him again until the next winter, when we accidentally met again at my aunt Eliza Selden's. He was fond of taking long walks, and one cold day he concluded to walk to Leesburg, about thirty miles from the seminary. . . . Being acquainted with Aunt Eliza Selden, he called to see her, she invited him to tea, and sent out to invite all her young friends. My friend Harriet Wilson and myself were of course among the number. [He] being the guest of my aunt and seeming very diffident, I suppose I tried to make his time pleasant; however, as my mother always used to say, "Matches were made in Heaven," or, as she meant, were fated. He left next day, and we thought no more of the young student.

The next August came—we went as usual to dear Clarens. The young student was at his post; this year he remained, as . . . it was not considered safe to go so far south at that season, so we saw a good deal of each other,—and before our vacation ended I had pledged my troth to one of the best and noblest of men. As he was to be ordained in October and return to South Carolina, it was thought best for us to be married and not incur the expense and time of returning. As my brothers were both away—Richard in the Navy on a cruise to the Mediterranean and John in Tennessee, my mother concluded to break up housekeeping in Leesburg and spend the winter with her sister Cecilia McKenna.

We were married at Clarens on the 30th of October [1834]. Six priests and over thirty students were present at our wedding, with a large number of relatives. William Boone, the future Bishop of

China, was one of the groomsmen and John Payne, the future Bishop of Africa, was there. John A. Washington and his future wife Nellie Selden were children playing around. Now as I write, I can't recall one living of all that happy assembly, with the exception of myself and Dr. C. C. Pinckney of Charleston, S. C. But to the eye of memory each one is before me, in all their freshness and bright anticipation of life before them, just entering on their work. And my heart is glad that as far as I have been able to follow the career of those men and of my dear friends and companions, each one faithfully did his work in his Lord's vineyard. Four of the young girls became the wives of clergymen. Cousin Harriet was married on the same night to John Horner of Virginia, afterwards appointed by Gen. Jackson [to be] Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin. We parted then, never to meet in this world again, though after we were grandmothers we renewed our correspondence through our children.

My husband preached his first sermon in Christ Church, Alexandria. We spent one day in Washington with my aunts Forest and Watson, and my cousins. My aunts each had large families. This was in 1834, and I am writing in 1895; of my aunt Watson's family of ten not one is now living, nor one of aunt Forest's of seven. We were to have had a dinner given us at Mount Vernon, but our cousin John Washington, always with his family, was spending the summer at his mountain home in Jefferson county, and could not return to Mount Vernon until after frost, and as we were to leave before their return the dinner was given by their daughter Maria Alexander, who was living in Alexandria. The last day was spent at home with my mother and aunt. All the company went in to dinner; we went later. Dinner at six—a very elegant affair, but not much enjoyed by myself. At ten we bade goodbye to all these dear ones, and we two set off on our life's journey, I not eighteen years old, and my husband a young clergyman of twenty-four years.

We took steamer to Baltimore; then, as steamboats had not ventured out of the rivers, we took a sailing vessel south, and were six or seven days before arriving in Charleston. Leaving in November when it was cold and wintry, the contrast was great, on arriving in Charleston, to find it almost summer, [with] warm sunshine, flowers, and oranges. We remained a day or two waiting for the weekly steamer "Seabrook" to take us to Beaufort, the home of my husband.

I had never been from home before, except on short visits to Wash-

ington, or among my relatives. . . . So it was a great trial to me—so many strangers, my husband being the only one ever seen before. We arrived on Sunday morning; as William had been away nearly four years his arrival, with a wife too, created quite a sensation in the little community, at least one-half related to him, and [where] the church was a large factor. Messages of congratulation came pouring in. Mr. Walker, the rector, sent to beg him to preach in the afternoon. The dear mother was so excited to have her son fill that pulpit. His sermon was from the text: "How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation."

I wish my children and grandchildren could have known that home and its occupants. I will try to describe them as they appeared to me. Your grandfather was then only fifty-two, a very handsome, hale man; strong, well-built, with a calm, benevolent expression, kind to all, very industrious, visiting daily his large plantations, which were reached only by water as a general thing. One, I think, was on the same Port Royal Island; "Genappe," on Ladies Island, was seven miles [away]. Another, on Horse Island, a much larger distance away in Broad River. It was all so new to me. I enjoyed so much the preparations,—the oarsmen with their oars on their shoulders, father with his broad-brimmed hat; sometimes one of the sons would accompany him, but as a general thing they each had their own occupation, at school or some study. Sometimes he spent the day, or returned to dinner, which in those days and at his table was a luxurious repast. He was highly respected by his friends and the whole community; proverbial for his just, honorable, and upright character, always known as the widows' and orphans' friend.

Your grandmother was then fifty, a very fine face which had been very pretty, remarkable dark brown eyes. Full of intelligence, high-spirited, something of a Spartan mother, holding the strong rein over five strong boys, strong in will as in physical strength. She died at the age of fifty-four, greatly lamented by her husband, who was devoted to her and her memory. Her children were all grown. Never was a mother more loved and revered by children than she was. While she held a tight rein over her boys, she left nothing undone to promote their comfort and happiness. There were two daughters. Sarah, the eldest of the family, was devoted to the brothers, looked to by them as an oracle. Highly cultivated and very talented, she commanded the esteem of all. When about thirty she married Dr. James Verdier; her

two children William Johnson and Elizabeth, now Mrs. Crosskeys, still live in Carolina, one a prosperous lawyer, the other a loved wife and mother, each inheriting many of their parent's virtues. Mary, much younger, was a pet of the family. She married Mr. Henry Loper, a man highly esteemed, and left one child, who married Theodore Gaillard, lives in Charleston, and has a large family.

It was a beautiful home, all so bright and cultivated,—the two elder brothers just ordained clergymen of the church, each member of the family members of the Holy Catholic Church. In that well-ordered household all kneeled morning and evening around the family altar.

My first child was born in Beaufort and called after my mother, Matilda Lee. Bishop Bowen sent my husband on missionary trips to preach in vacant parishes. He gave him \$20 for every service. Several of them called him to their parishes. . . . While taking them into consideration he received an urgent invitation to take charge of the church in Montgomery, Alabama. The diocese of Alabama was not then organized, and not more than three or four clergymen in the state. A number of Carolinians had moved into the state, drawn by the rich cotton lands; Montgomery was a town of 5,000, promising to become the first town after Mobile.

He decided to accept it, so we went about preparing for the move, then equal to going to China now. There were no railroads,—the long journey was by stage. In December, Matilda being only five months old, we were ready. It was decided to send our house servants and furniture by sea, we to take nothing but a trunk with necessary clothing. It was a great grief to the family to have us go so far away. We went to Charleston, took the railroad (then the only one in the country) to Augusta, spent Sunday with the Rev. Mr. Ford. On Monday took the stage; we could not stop to rest, as the travel was so great, if one gave up his seat he might not be able to get one for weeks. So we took our places for Montgomery, four days and nights, only getting out to take our meals, or for a few moments while they changed horses, which they did every ten miles. We held the baby on a pillow which is still in possession of that baby, now sixty years old. The last night was through the Indian Nation occupying the country between Columbus, Georgia, and Montgomery, Alabama, a wilderness with a stage road cut out for the U. S. Mail. The road was rough in the extreme,—we could scarcely keep our seats; the poor baby was sore and tired, she cried all the time. About ten at night we

heard with delight "Montgomery in sight." We drove up to the door of the hotel, I was taken out, and we went to our room. Both of us fell upon the bed, laying the baby down, who was so glad to be still soon fell asleep; indeed we all three slept. Your pa has often said he felt as if he never wanted to get up again. At that time there were numbers of planters moving out to Alabama. The road at night was illuminated with their camp fires. Handsome equipages filled with elegant ladies, riding horses, hundreds of negroes,—everything betokening wealth and luxury. At night tents were raised, fine meals cooked, &c. I have often heard those families in after years refer to the delightful time.

I was then only nineteen. I think now but for motherly instinct the poor baby would never have survived. The good mother had provided everything for our housekeeping, even to the cup and knife towels, [and] four house servants. We were to board until our things arrived. A planter from Carolina, Mr. Bentley Hasel, who was a good churchman, was rejoiced to have the church [supplied with a priest]. He took us out to his house [where] we and a Miss Cruger from New York, a sister of his wife, formed a friendship which we renewed many years after on St. Helena Island; she was a relative of Mr. Coffin, a large cotton planter on the island. There [at Mr. Hasel's] we heard that the vessel on which our things were sent had been wrecked on the Florida reefs. The servants had been saved, but it would be some weeks before they could reach us, as they were obliged to come up on a boat from Mobile, so we concluded to board with a Mrs. Ticknor, whose husband was in Texas with Fannin, and among the ill-starred men who perished in the Alamo.

There were not more than three clergymen of the church in the state, the diocese not organized, and [but] two buildings; one in Mobile, Mr. Lewis, rector, and one in Tuscaloosa, then the capital of the state, Mr. Matthews, rector. The Universalist Church at Montgomery, [whose] congregation [had] broken up, owned a nice little building. We rented it and soon had a large congregation. My husband was much admired as a preacher, and there was a pipe organ and a good choir. The singing of the chants was something new and much admired. Every Sunday some family, generally planters, would come, saying they belonged to the church either in Virginia, North or South Carolina. One young man, a merchant, was Charles T. Pollard from Fredericksburg, Virginia, who had married into a wealthy family of

the Methodist order. He became a lifelong friend, and the name of Charles Pollard a household word in Alabama. Fifty years later, on the occasion of our golden wedding, we received a present from him. His lovely wife became attached to the church and they raised a large family, children and grandchildren walking in their footsteps. These families soon felt that they must have their own habitation, and in less than a year \$7000 was raised and a good brick building was built, well furnished, a fine pipe organ, and everything that was needed.

When our servants arrived and the insurance was paid, of course it did not cover half the loss. All our books, all my wedding clothing, and house linen were lost in the wreck. We rented a small house, furnished it economically. We had a visit from Mr. Boone just before he left for China. He was anxious to marry my aunt Ellen Lee, but she could not agree to make the sacrifice of leaving her old father. They both [later] married, and after some years her husband Mr. Bedford died, leaving her with one child, a little girl. Mr. Boone's wife, a Miss Dessasure, died, leaving a son. [When] Mr. Boone returned to this country on a visit he visited my aunt and wanted [again] to marry her, but she had not the spirit of a missionary. He then married Phoebe Elliott, sister of the Bishop [of South Carolina], and was later [himself] made Bishop of China; their son afterwards succeeded him, so I have lived to see father and son Bishops of China, and both gone to their reward.

Fifty years ago I left my Virginia home with my husband, both full of zeal for the work of life before us. [He was] a man of learning, zeal, and untiring energy, who labored for fifty-eight years in his Master's vineyard, never laying down his work till prostrated a few weeks [after passing] his eighty-second year. He died 11th of November, 1892.

Richard [his eldest brother], a clergyman of force and usefulness, a fine writer, married Maria Smith, sister of William Smith, twice a governor of Virginia, [and] died in Atlanta, Georgia, February 7th, 1873, in his sixty-third year.

Joseph, son next to [my husband] was a physician of high rank, possessed of a lovely disposition. He married Eliza Verdier, daughter of Dr. James Verdier, a prominent physician.

Benjamin [was] the politician, a senator and candidate for governor, his election lost by a trick of his opponent. He married Caroline

Richardson, and laid down his life for his country at the first battle of Manassas.

John, the youngest of the family, was a physician, a man of great learning and individuality. He married Claudia Talbot (or Talbird), left a large family.

Now I am the only one left of all that family. All on the other side of the river. God grant that I may join them in our Father's mansions above.

NOTES

PART SIX

¹ Matilda Love's second daughter Cecilia (1823-50) married Brigadier General Lewis Armistead, C.S.A., who fell at Gettysburg. It was their son, Keith Armistead, who was the subject of the letter from General Robert E. Lee to Matilda Love containing his well-known remark about private soldiers in the Confederate Army:

"Orange, 23d Dec., '63

"Mrs. E. M. Love:

"I received yesterday your letter of the 1st inst. in reference to your grd. son, W. Keith Armistead. I have taken much interest in him from the beginning of his career; his amiable disposition, setting aside other considerations, having attracted me towards him.

"After the death of his gallant father a position with the Chief of Ordinance of the army was offered him which it was hoped he would accept, but he preferred to remain with his associates in the ranks.

"I think the position of a private soldier in the Confederate army is the most honorable in the service.

"With great respect, I am your kinsman & obt. Servant,

R. E. Lee."

Other children of Matilda, in addition to her daughters Cecilia and Flora, were her four sons: Thomas and Ludwell, who both died young; Richard (1815-1855), U.S.N., who married Martha Pearson; and General John Love (1820-1881), a graduate of West Point, who married Mary F. Smith but left no issue.

² The recollections were in the possession of Mrs. Johnson's daughter, Mrs. Flora Lee (Johnson) Martin of California. They came to light in a roundabout way, through a visit made to Leesburg in search of information about Ludwell Lee of Belmont and the Lees of nearby Coton Hall. We were put in touch with a member of this latter family living in Wisconsin, from whom a further clue was obtained, leading first to Missouri, then to Colorado, and finally to Mrs. Martin in California.

³ Thomas Lee was possibly the person of that name who attended William and Mary and was an early member of Phi Beta Kappa, first of the Greek letter societies. He settled at Dumfries, Virginia, as a merchant and lived at a place called Park Gate. He married two, possibly three times, and died at Belmont in 1807.

⁴ The original of the miniature of Ludwell Lee shown here was in the

possession of Mrs. Mary Lee Memminger of Asheville, North Carolina, a member of the Lee Society, at the time Cazenove Lee was writing this portion (1922).

Information about Ludwell Lee was derived from the following sources: Ballagh, *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, I, 69-76; II, 253-70; *ibid.*, Liber X (1794-95), 225.

⁵ Ludwell Lee had five sisters (see Note 12, Part Three). The text would indicate that the one in question had no children of her own at the time.

⁶ Leesburg was chartered in 1758, after Thomas Lee's death, but it still may have been named for him. He was her *great*-grandfather; her grandfather was Richard Henry Lee.

⁷ This was certainly Charles Lee, the U.S. Attorney General. He lost his wife Anne (or Nancy) Lee, Ludwell Lee's sister, in 1804, two years before the event Matilda is recording. His daughter Anne (afterwards the wife of General Walter Jones) was Matilda's age.

⁸ Francis Lightfoot Lee, youngest child of Richard Henry Lee, named for his father's brother, the Signer.

⁹ Eleanor (or Nellie) Lee was a daughter of Thomas Lee of Park Gate, Ludwell Lee's brother. She was married in 1806 to Gerard Alexander, being his first wife. She died November 9, 1807, leaving a son, Colonel Thomas Ludwell Alexander, U.S.A. (1807-1881).

¹⁰ William Lee of Greenspring. While the name of the "relation" who sold these mirrors to the government is not mentioned, it was probably his daughter Portia, wife of Mr. Hodgson, the merchant of Alexandria. The mirrors were doubtless destroyed when the British burned the White House in 1814.

¹¹ Rokeby was not far from Langley, Fairfax County, Virginia, which was quite a Lee colony at this time.

¹² Nancy Randolph McKenna married the Rev. C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina in 1835. Mr. McKenna's first wife was a daughter of Colonel Robert Randolph of Eastern View in Fauquier County, and Elizabeth Carter (1764-1832), who was the daughter of Charles Carter of Shirley and thus a half sister of General Lee's mother.

¹³ She lived with this daughter almost continuously for nearly forty years, and died on January 22, 1875.

Part Seven ❧ ❧ ❧

PILGRIMAGES

Part Seven

PILGRIMAGES

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EDITOR'S NOTE

THE account of the Northern Neck which appears in this portion was written by the author in 1922 as a guide to this section of Virginia, in which places of interest were pointed out, something was told of their history and associations, and directions were given for getting there. As an introduction he describes an actual trip made two years previous to this, when touring was evidently even more hazardous than in far-off 1922.

In the summer of 1920 a party of us set out with much baggage in a single car, determined to see Stratford and if possible Cobbs Hall and Ditchley. The road between Washington and Fredericksburg was a "via dolorosa" in those days, when to be stuck in a mudhole or to run out of gas were matters not to be considered lightly . . . nor the old fabric tire, good for 4,000 miles and as many punctures! After leaving Fredericksburg it was necessary to jog over to Colonial Beach and spend a disagreeable night at Washington's Coney Island. But on the following morning we were rewarded with an unforgettable thrill when for the first time we viewed Wakefield and Stratford, the birthplaces of Washington and Lee. The trip into the woods in search of the site of Wakefield was something of an adventure, but when we sought to find Chantilly things were even worse. We passed through a maze of gates, barnyards, and obscure roads until we reached the spot where the house had once stood; from thence a road reminiscent of a dried-up creek bed led us to Chilton and finally to Montross. Now this section is traversed by excellent roads; the cowpaths have become boulevards.

This was still 1922, Stratford and Williamsburg were unrestored, and the replica of Wakefield was as yet unbuilt. Today most of the "boulevards" of that era have given way to superhighways, some of the old landmarks have disappeared and new ones have taken their place, and many of the directions in this guide are correspondingly obsolete. But it is included here, together with the account of the "Grand Tour" of 1927, for the delightful flavor they both afford of that day and earlier days. (See endpaper.)

Chapter I

THE NORTHERN NECK

1922

STARTING our pilgrimage from Washington and crossing the Potomac by the Highway Bridge, we behold the Doric columns of Arlington rising before us on the west, and recollections of the Custises and the Lees come to mind. There Robert E. Lee lived, when his duties as an army officer did not take him elsewhere, from the time of his marriage in 1831 until 1861. At the Virginia end of the bridge we have a choice of two routes to Alexandria. The fine concrete highway to the left is the old road between Washington and her ancient neighbor, and the most direct way. About two miles out on this route a road to the left leads to Abingdon, where once lived John Parke Custis and his wife, Eleanor Calvert. Examination of the structure and framework shows this house to have been originally a cottage of one and a half stories, a second full story being added later. The older portion is of great age. Today it presents a most dilapidated appearance, with shuttered windows, fallen plaster, and much of the floor missing.¹

If we take the alternate route to Alexandria we follow the ridge road, which affords us a fine view of city and river and brings us to the foot of Shuter's Hill, with the Alexandria depot in front of us. Let us pause here for a moment. On the left side of the road, protected by an iron grill, stands one of the old milestones that marked the boundary line between the District of Columbia and Virginia in the days when Alexandria was a part of the federal preserves. To the right, on Shuter's (or Shooter's) Hill, where the Masonic Memorial to George Washington is being built, once stood the home of Ludwell Lee. His first wife, Flora, a daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee, was buried there in a grave which is now unknown. Beside her was buried Ludwell's

sister Anne, wife of Attorney General Charles Lee, who held his office during part of Washington's and all of Adams' administration. Nowadays attorney generals do not last that long.

It seems fitting that our pilgrimage should pass through Alexandria. Colonel Richard Lee and his son, the second Richard, were familiar with this locality. Thomas Lee of Stratford knew it as a cornfield, and during the past hundred and fifty years six generations of Lees have been connected with the town, and a goodly company of them rest in the cemeteries of the little city. It is mellowed with many pleasant recollections, and was the last place in Virginia where the Lees enjoyed a gregarious existence. About the year 1800 Richard Henry Lee was represented here by a son and daughter, Henry Lee of Leesylvania by three sons and a daughter, and the Maryland Lees by Philip Fendall. In the next decade a Lee held the office of mayor and filled the pulpit of Christ Church in the person of the Rev. William Meade, afterwards Bishop of Virginia.

Robert E. Lee's associations with this town date from 1810, when he came there with his parents at the age of three, until 1829, when he graduated from West Point and began his army service. On Oronoco Street is the house in which he lived, next door to the school of Benjamin Hallowell, where he prepared for the Point. It was to this house that Lafayette, on his visit to the city in 1829, came to pay his respects to the widow of Light Horse Harry Lee, his friend of Revolutionary days. Just across the street is the house built about 1790 by Philip Fendall for his third bride, Light Horse Harry's sister, Mary, and later occupied as a town house by Richard Bland Lee. Also nearby is the fine home of Edmund Jennings Lee and his wife Sarah, youngest daughter of Richard Henry Lee. All these houses are mansions of considerable size and have suffered little if any from alterations.

In old Christ Church, the town's most cherished possession, Robert E. Lee, was confirmed and William Meade, a kinsman, was rector. This church was completed just before the Revolution and from that day to this has been the spiritual home of the Lees of this vicinity, many of whom served on its vestry.

Leaving town by Alfred Street we take the road to Camp Humphries,² and a short distance out notice a fine colonial mansion on an elevation to the right. This is Woodlawn, once the home of Lawrence Lewis, the nephew, and Nellie Custis, the step-granddaughter, of

Washington, who willed them the four-thousand-acre estate. Here they lived to a good old age, and are buried at Mount Vernon. Woodlawn, Arlington, and Tudor Place in Georgetown, three gems of American architecture, are monuments to the genius of William Thornton, architect of the United States Capitol, and are also indications of the great wealth of the Custis family.

A few moments now bring us to Camp Humphries, located on the site of Belvoir, the old Fairfax estate, where, near the river, the old graves may be seen. Belvoir was the home of Anne Fairfax, who married Lawrence Washington and later George Lee of Mount Pleasant.

The next place of interest is Pohick Church, at a crossroads leading to Gunston Hall, George Mason's home. Washington figured largely in the building of this church and served as vestryman. Volumes have been written about his religious character and faithful church attendance, but old Pohick seems to have been his favorite place of worship, and he was paid this tribute by its rector, the Rev. Lee Massey:

I never knew so consistent an attendant at church as Washington. His behaviour in the House of God was ever so reverential that it produced the happiest effects on my congregation and greatly assisted me in my pulpit labours.

This naturally aroused our interest in Mr. Massey, and due investigation produced this comment by Bishop Meade:

His [Massey's] sermons evince talent and are sound in doctrine, but like most of that day, want evangelical life and spirit, and would never rouse sinners to a sense of their condition.

These words lead us to believe that Washington's reverential deportment may have borne some relation to Mr. Massey's "pulpit labours": the mere fact that he was able to remain fully awake and fairly attentive during the sermon, thereby setting an example to future vestrymen, was enough to endear him to his rector.

After passing through Occoquan, an ancient hamlet on a creek of the same name, we are in Prince William County. Some distance beyond we come to a sign pointing to Woodbridge, on the south side of Occoquan Creek, opposite the site of Colchester, and the wood bridge is there for you to cross if you are interested. When, further

on, we turn into the "telegraph road" or "stage road" keep an eye out for the wooded hills on the far side of Neabsco Creek, for this neck of land is the Leesylvania property and the best view you will get is at this point. A crossroad to the left on the other side of the bridge over the creek leads into the Leesylvania lands. This estate bordered both sides of the road and extended to the Potomac, a distance of about three miles. It once belonged to Henry Corbin and was willed by him to his daughter, Laetitia, wife of Richard Lee II, and from her it passed to Henry Lee of Lee Hall. The latter left it to his son, Henry, the first member of the family to reside here. To this home he brought Lucy Grymes, "the Lowland Beauty," as his bride, and here were born their noted sons, Light Horse Harry, Charles, Richard Bland, and Edmund Jennings Lee. The place was inherited by Charles, after whose death it was sold by his son Alfred to Henry Fairfax in 1825, after being in the Lee family for nearly one hundred twenty-five years. Here, in an unmarked grave, rest the paternal grandparents of Robert E. Lee.

We pass rapidly along to Dumfries, an old town which began to decay before the Revolution but was still something of a place in 1800. Here Ludwell Lee tried to practice law for a short time before his removal to Alexandria. Little remains of it to remind us that the main street, which we follow, was once lined with wharves at which ships from England docked. The bay is now filled with sand and the nearest point on the river is a mile and a half distant. An old brick inn, built along colonial lines, still stands on the right-hand side of the road. Near Dumfries, at a home he called Park Gate, lived Richard Henry's son, Thomas, about whom we know very little.

In the Congressional Library, Division of Manuscripts, may be seen two ancient store books from Dumfries, containing accounts with all the leading families of the community: Lees, Carters, Brents, etc. Each order for goods was entered by the clerk and then signed for by the purchaser. Early in July, 1787, Colonel Henry Lee of Leesylvania made some purchases, and a few weeks later large orders for mourning clothes tell us unmistakably that the old colonel had passed away.

Beyond Dumfries we strike a good concrete road, the left fork of which leads to the Marine Base at Quantico, while the road to the right is the one we follow comfortably across Chapawamsic Swamp, once a terror to motorists. Several members of the Lee family owned

property in this locality in the dim past, and we can now understand why these branches died out.

A little farther on is Aquia Church, dating back to 1751. Here Thomas Ludwell Lee, who lived nearby at Bellview, doubtless worshiped when the roads were dry. Old Stafford Court House, built in 1783, could be seen as it originally appeared until recently, when it was pulled down and a modern structure erected. The first courthouse, however, was located about six miles away at Marlboro Point, within a few rods of Bellview. Those who desire to run down there will turn into a road on the left at the present courthouse. There are many memories connected with this locality but little remains to be seen.

A few miles more and we reach Falmouth on the Rappahannock, almost directly opposite Fredericksburg. This time we will not cross the bridge into Fredericksburg, but turn left and continue straight ahead to King George Court House. Now begins a delightful spin down the Northern Neck. On our right for miles is the beautiful valley of the Rappahannock and beyond the river on the south rise the wooded hills which Burnside vainly strove to gain in 1862. But we are concerned with earlier times, with the Northern Neck of another age. The importance in history of this little strip of country is astonishingly out of proportion to its size. The achievements of its sons in peace and war have woven a romantic spell about their names, their homes, and their age, which seems only to increase as a more critical generation weighs their accomplishments.

To the left at King George Court House is the road to Colonial Beach, on the Potomac about twenty miles away. One of the wings of the hotel there dates back to Revolutionary times, and it is claimed locally that Light Horse Harry Lee lived there. This is of course an error, as he lived at Stratford, but the basis of the tradition is perhaps the fact that the tract of land on which the hotel stands was once part of the Stratford estate and was sold by Light Horse Harry in 1796. Near Colonial Beach is the birthplace of President James Monroe.

Continuing along from King George we come to Oak Grove, then to Potomac Mills on Pope's Creek. Just before reaching the creek an obscure road into the woods on the left leads to Wakefield. No house is there now, but a fine monument stands on the site of the home where Washington was born.³ A drive of about half a mile will bring you to the Washington tombs on Bridges Creek.

Just beyond Pope's Creek, at the top of the hill near Morris' store, we come to a thicket of pine and cedar on the right. This had been identified as the site of old Pope's Creek Church. Here the Stratford Lees worshiped and here a monument to the memory of Thomas Lee was placed on the wall. But none of the family was buried here, Bishop Meade and others to the contrary.

A few miles farther, at a frame church known locally as Grant's Church, we turn into a lane marked "Stratford" and eagerly await our first glimpse of the house. And there it lies before us, "this great baronial pile, so rich in memories priceless to Virginia and the nation . . . awaiting the hand that will restore it to its original splendour" (Paul Wilstach). Dr. and Mrs. Stuart are most considerate in allowing the members of the Lee family and other visitors to look around, and it should be remembered that visitors are very numerous. "Uncle Billy," a most amiable and talkative negro who was born in slavery on the old Stuart place in King George, will act as your guide, but it is necessary to warn you that much of the information supplied at Stratford is merely tradition and should be heavily discounted. In the nearly hundred years which have elapsed since the last of the Lees left there, many misstatements concerning them have been coined.

The house is massive and austere. In the center is the Great Hall, connecting the two wings and entered by the stairway in front. The imagination can easily picture the day when the portraits of four generations of Lees looked down upon gatherings of the elegant society which preceded the Revolution. The condition of the interior woodwork in both this hall and the bedrooms is remarkably good.

Do not fail to visit the large outside kitchen, a detached building in front of the main house, which occupies a position in keeping with its domestic importance. We are told that in its huge fireplace a whole ox could be roasted at one time. Everything at Stratford is designed along ample lines, and everywhere the striving for permanence is manifest. The rooms are large and well proportioned, and the stable would house a fair-sized circus. Even the cannon ball in the yard, said to have been fired at the house by the British, is about fourteen inches in diameter. Note the traces of a flower garden, the rose bushes, walks, and pieces of carved stone, a crepe myrtle of great age, and the sundial. Thomas Lee built his house between 1725 and 1730, but its general physical condition gives no indication of so great an age.

Be sure to drive down to the river and see the superb view which was once enjoyed by the occupants of the mansion. The lane leads through fields and frequent patches of woodland full of holly. As you stand on the cliffs facing the river, the old mill and pond are but a short distance away. At this spot Richard Henry Lee commanded the militia during the Revolution in a skirmish with a landing party from the British fleet. The burial vault, near the house at the end of the garden, is believed to have been built by Light Horse Harry Lee, but no one knows who, if anyone, was ever buried there.

A drive of three miles along the road by which we came to Stratford will bring us to Chantilly, where Richard Henry Lee lived and all his many children were born. The road is poor, but easily navigated. Once a portion of the Stratford estate, it is now a wild and desolate spot, but potentially beautiful. Nothing remains but part of a brick cellar, and even the view is partially obscured by the woods. The hillside has doubtless washed away considerably in the past one hundred twenty-five years. In the spring the wonderful old narcissus bulbs are in full bloom amid all the desolation.

From Chantilly we return to Grant's Church and take the road to Montross, the county seat of Westmoreland. A group of us once made this trip by moonlight, and on our arrival at the Westmoreland Inn in Montross a delectable dinner awaited us. It is needless to remind anyone of the gifted fashion in which the people of Virginia prepare an oyster, serve a chicken, devil a crab, or cure a ham, and large quantities of these and other delicacies quickly disappeared. The spirit of Squire Lee of Lee Hall must surely have been present.

The visitor to the courthouse at Montross will meet with a pleasant surprise when he enters the courtroom and sees the collection of portraits on the walls. Among these are excellent copies, from the originals, of Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and Arthur Lee, and a fair one of Robert E. Lee, but surprisingly, none of Thomas Lee of Stratford. The old court records are still preserved in a fireproof vault. All have been carefully copied, so the originals are only used occasionally.

If you left Washington by 9 A.M. you should have reached Stratford by 3 P.M., a schedule allowing for driving at a moderate pace and really getting acquainted with the country. We therefore recommend that after seeing Montross you take advantage of the remaining daylight to see a little more of this vicinity before returning there

to spend the night. A short drive to Templeman and a sharp turn will bring you to the bridge over the Nomini River, and a locality as important in Virginia's history as it is beautiful to the eye. Across the bridge at the top of the bank stands Nomini Church, on the site of the older edifice of the same name which was plundered by the British during the War of 1812 and soon after burned. This original church was built over the graves of Anne Lee, a daughter of Colonel Richard Lee, and her husband, Thomas Youell, by order of their grandson Youell Watkins, who at his death in 1703 piously deeded one acre to the parish provided the church be built over the family graves in the Youell garden. In this first church the Lees of Mount Pleasant and Lee Hall worshiped, and here, on the wall, Richard Henry Lee placed a tablet to the memory of his first wife.

A mile above the bridge is the site of Hickory Hill, the Turberville home, and the graveyard with its handsome tombs. Just beyond here was Nomini Hall, made famous by Councillor Robert Carter, whose home it was, and by Philip Fithian, who wrote his informative journal while acting as tutor to the Carter children. The grove of poplars is still to be seen, but nothing except the huge cellar remains of the house, which was destroyed in 1850 after surviving the storms of nearly ninety years.

Not far from the bridge over the Nomini, on the left, is the road to McGuire's wharf, where a ferry leaves daily at 1 P.M. for Leonardtown, Maryland, affording an enjoyable trip of an hour and a half and landing you on a good road to Washington.

At nearby Hague is the site of Lee Hall, home of Squire Richard Lee, who married Sarah (Sally) Poythress when he was an old bachelor of sixty. He was the second son of Henry Lee of Lee Hall and a grandson of Colonel Richard Lee I. The family graveyard and the ruins of the first Lee Hall, torn down when it was about one hundred thirty-three years old, are to the rear of the present residence of Dr. Chinn, which is also called Lee Hall. The only monument remaining is the one to the above Sarah, who after the Squire's death married Willoughby Newton. She died in 1828 and it is as Sarah Newton that she is memorialized on her tombstone, no mention being made of her first marriage.

A left turn at Hague brings you to the Mount Pleasant estate. Passing the gate to the present house we follow the farm road past large barns and into the middle of a vast field. Here, within a brick wall

which long ago disappeared, were buried the second Richard Lee, his son, Thomas Lee of Stratford, and their respective wives, and just outside it Richard Henry Lee and his two Mrs. Lees. The place is being restored at the present time. About a hundred yards to the north careful search has located the foundations of a large building and the evidence of a destructive fire. We believe this marks the location of the Mount Pleasant home which burned in 1729 while Thomas and Hannah Lee were living there.

Continuing our trip the next day, we start from Montross and proceed through Hague to Yeocomico Church, about three miles away. Near here, on the river, stood Peckatone, home of the Corbins, the Turbervilles, and the Taliaferros. Now nothing is left but a ruin, an unmarked grave, and a marvelous view. Yeocomico alternated with Nomini Church in supplying the spiritual needs of Cople Parish in bygone days. It is quite possible that Richard Lee II took part in its affairs, and later on Squire Lee was a vestryman for many years. Vestries were self-perpetuated in those days unless the House of Burgesses intervened, which it rarely did, being in itself a glorified gathering of the vestries of Virginia. The present brick church, built in 1706, is the successor of the one whose first vestry was chosen in 1655. Set in a recess in the woods just off the main road, it is a picture of peace and quiet. In front is the tomb of Daniel McCarty, who married Anne, the daughter of Richard Lee II.

Leaving this tranquil spot we pass through Kinsale on an arm of the Yeocomico River, through the hamlet of Callao and Heathville, the county seat of Northumberland, to the little community of Wicomico Church. The church that gives the place its name is a small frame structure standing beside the site of the earlier one, whose plan can be faintly traced. It was to this first church that Hancock Lee left the money for the communion cup in 1709.

Near Wicomico Church and just below Tiper's Ferry is Blackwell's Landing. Here was an estate known as Walnut Lodge, seat of the Blackwell family, of which Edward Blackwell was the progenitor. His descendants still live there and have carefully preserved their Bible records. The family historian has described the men as "staunch and liberal churchmen" during several generations, but does not say what a "liberal churchman" was in 1750. The third generation of this family produced Joseph Blackwell, who married Lucy Steptoe of Northumberland, appears as a vestryman of Hamilton Parish in 1746,

and later as Justice of Fauquier. He was a friend of Richard Henry Lee and his children intermarried with the Lees.⁴

On the road to Kilmarnock we turn left into the narrow lane to Cobbs Hall, and as we approach the house pass the spot where we believe the first Richard Lee is buried. The house we see on the estate today was built about 1853 to replace the one erected by his grandson, Charles Lee, in 1720, and is owned by the Harveys, who are descendants. A short walk will bring you to an arm of Dividing Creek, near an old cabin. Get into a skiff and paddle out into this beautiful body of water. If you like, you can row over to Ditchley.

To reach Ditchley by car you must return to the main highway and take the lane, paralleling the one to Cobbs, which leads to the house, a mile and a half away. The present mansion was built by Kendall Lee in 1762. Across the field to the south is the burying ground, with the slab erected to the first Hancock Lee, and many other graves, mostly of the Ball family, who came into possession of the place in 1789. Close by was the original house of Hancock's day, another case of the graveyard being near the dwelling place, as at Lee Hall, Mount Pleasant, and Cobbs.

Three miles beyond Kilmarnock we come upon the gem of colonial houses of worship, old Christ Church, Lancaster, on the site of a still earlier church. This land was a portion of the feudal domain of the Carters, whose possessions reached to the Alleghenies. The present church was built during the rectorship of the Rev. John Bell and completed in 1732 at the expense of Robert Carter, who, because of his wealth and power, was called "King." The Rev. Mr. Bell should also be credited with the authorship of the inscription on Carter's tombstone. He and his two wives were buried in the churchyard in tombs which were once the handsomest in Virginia but are now only broken piles of marble. Across the road in a negro cabin lives the caretaker who will let you into the church. In the chancel is a slab marking the grave of John Carter, father of Robert and builder in 1670 of the earlier church.

Irvington, two miles away, concludes the day's traveling, a total of about eighty miles including the side trips. An early start in the morning would enable you to return to Washington via the Leonardtown ferry and see several places on the way back to McGuire's Wharf. A left turn at Christ Church takes you to Corotoman on the Rappahannock, "King" Carter's home. Only one of the outbuildings

remains but it will serve to give you an idea of the graceful architecture of the place. Retracing your way to Kilmarnock, take the road to Lancaster Court House and a detour of several miles to Epping Forest, birthplace of Washington's mother, Mary Ball. At one time during the Revolution this place was the refuge of Richard Henry Lee's family. At White Chapel not far away is the tomb of Lettice Lee, wife of James Ball and daughter of Richard Lee of Ditchley.

From Lancaster we continue to Heathsville and Warsaw. At the latter place Bishop Henry St. George Tucker and the Rev. Allen Castleman, both members of the Lee family, were once rectors of the church. Not far from here are two splendid colonial mansions which have never been out of the families who built them. These are Sabine Hall, the Carter estate, and Mount Airy, home of the Tayloes. Mr. Welford at the former and the Misses Tayloe at the latter will welcome you and show you the portraits, silver, furniture, gardens, and views, all of which are notable. Mount Airy can boast the portrait of Henry Corbin, founder of that family, and the grave of Francis Lightfoot Lee, the Signer, who married Rebecca Tayloe. Their home, Menokin, is five miles away. Built of brick covered with plaster, it was a handsome mansion in its day.

Returning to Warsaw we take the road to Hague, thence to McGuire's Wharf and the ferry for Leonardtown. The passage across to the Maryland side is one of the most delightful parts of the outing. Approaching the mouth of the Nomini the ferry first passes Bushfield on the right, where lived John Augustine Washington, brother of the General and husband of Hannah Bushrod. At this home the Lees often gathered. The two families had been friends for a hundred years and there Richard Henry Lee's son Thomas found his bride, Hannah Corbin Washington. The present Bushfield is a reproduction in brick of Mount Vernon.

Beyond Bushfield is Kingcopsico Point, once owned by Henry Lee of Lee Hall and later by his son John. To the east is the mouth of the Machodoc River, on which were situated the Mount Pleasant and Lee Hall estates. Directly across the Nomini from Kingcopsico, on the wooded heights to the west, stood Chantilly, and beyond it, Stratford. The families of this locality were incessantly visiting each other. They never missed a wedding or a christening, and when Squire Lee gave his celebrated house party at Lee Hall the neighboring families

came and went each day; those who attended one day rested the next and others took their places.

As we pass out into the Potomac a splendid panorama unfolds, changed but little since the white man came. Ahead lies Blackstone Island, frequently mentioned in Richard Henry Lee's letters, and a favorite rendezvous of the British fleet during the Revolution. Beyond on the Maryland shore is Leonardtown on beautiful Breton Bay, and the road to Washington.⁵

Chapter II

THE GRAND TOUR

1927

by RACHEL HOGE SAVAGE

THEY wrote me in April that the Grand Tour of the Lee Society was to be May 6th, 7th, and 8th, and by happy accident the time fitted in exactly with a trip I had already planned to Washington. Now if you live in a new and vigorous West where every farmer drives his Ford and owns a radio, there is a compelling charm in seeking out forgotten byways and mellowed traditions of the past. Tidewater Virginia! The name beckons irresistibly, and then, too, what fun to meet new cousins and make new friends among an unknown sixty-four.

There were four in our car, sisters and brother, talkative with the zest of a family meeting after long separation. Being Friday, of course it rained. No one cared, no one even discussed side curtains, for it fell straight and steady, so unlike the beating storms of the West. At 8 A.M. we left Washington. The Boothe house in Alexandria was to be our rallying point with the other dozen automobiles, and as we arrived, the deserted street reminded us that time, tide, and Cazenove Lee wait for no man. At Fredericksburg we caught up with the clan, and pausing only for hurried greetings with the rear guard, sped over excellent country roads. Later we left the state highway, and turning into a lane undergoing repairs, plunged through mire and water-holes till, looking up, we saw suddenly down a half-mile of open road, fronting us in stately loneliness, Stratford!

The place has a noble air. Unmistakable its great brick façade and its peculiar groups of chimneys, four in each, enclosing the little galleries from which, in that early eighteenth century, anxious watching eyes must have scanned the fields for signs of Indians. Peculiar, too,

the wide steps running straight to the second floor and a door opening directly into the great central hall. It is perhaps not an architecturally perfect building, less charming than the simpler Ditchley or Mount Vernon, but more majestic than either, with a dignity and character all its own, as unique as "Old English," and as unashamed. And I, who had never before looked on the home of my ancestors, felt a pang of pity at the cracked windowpanes and broken shutters, as one might feel coming upon a stricken giant in poverty and weakness.

In the large bedroom at the east end Richard Henry Lee was born in 1732, and in 1807 his greater kinsman, Robert Edward Lee. It is a lofty room with great fireplaces and deep recessed windows, but meager comforts, as it appears today. The nondescript furniture and inadequate maintenance are all unworthy of the house, its surrounding buildings, and its beautiful trees and field.⁶

Grouped about in the spacious hall, we cousins made each other's acquaintance, and gossiped informally without introduction. Then, through the rain, we motored to Montross, a quiet Virginia town, where we lunched in the Westmoreland County courthouse. (Did you ever picnic in a courtroom?) This red brick building with its double inside stairway to the second floor is in itself interesting from an architectural standpoint, but it is far more important as a landmark of stirring days. Inside the courtroom there looked down on bench and table and the spread lunches of the sixty-four descendants, the faded and oddly painted portraits of soldiers, jurists, and "Signers," our kinsmen and their associates. On one wall is a tablet of the famous Westmoreland Resolutions; on another the precious names of the one hundred fourteen men who had the courage to place their signatures on Richard Henry Lee's handiwork.

The rain having ceased we hurried on. An occasional tradesman in quiet Montross gasped at the procession of cars; a darkey in a cabin door rolled eyes of wonder as we passed. These are the byways of Virginia, one hundred miles from Washington and one hundred years behind today in some respects. The road is good, and tourist warnings of "curve" and "dangerous hill" are set along the way; and the names—Menokin Mill, Totuskey, Pantico Run, are full of the flavor of Indian days. And how different from the more musical Indian names of the West—Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nemakagon, Hiawatha.

In the late afternoon we reached Ditchley, younger than Stratford

and less famous. Built of brick, it is a pure colonial type, with simple porticos and cornices. The owner, also a member of the Lee family, showed us through the wide hall and up the winding stairway into a paneled chamber. Here behind a closet door are the steep, narrow, hidden stairs to the great timbered attic, where wooden pins hold the beams and no nail has yet been driven. A further climb takes you to the roof above and a fine view of Dividing Creek.

The road to Cobbs Hall, never a joltless lane, was in unusually bad shape and served to try the mettle of some of the adventurous drivers who had dashed ahead of our guide. The mansion itself is disappointing; it was built in 1853, and is now in a sadly neglected and dilapidated condition. But along the lane leading to this house is the first property our emigrant ancestor owned at Dividing Creek prior to the patenting of the Cobbs and Ditchley tracts. We have reason to think that his home stood here and that his grave was in the adjoining garden.

It is not far to Christ Church, Lancaster, full of colonial flavor and mercifully untouched by the hand of the restorer. Of course all the pews are enclosed, in fact so highly boxed in are they that, when seated, no one of the gentry of the times could get even the slightest glimpse of a neighbor. High in the pulpit the minister towered above his congregation, and from that lofty eyrie, reached by a winding stairway, must have commanded a fine view of his whole imprisoned flock. No one could possibly escape before the thunders of the sermon had subsided.

It was dusk when the tired sixty-four at last reached Irvington and the little hotel on a bay of the Rappahannock. In spite of carefully made plans and advance notice of our arrival, the clerks looked as dazed as if they had received no warning of this plague of visitors, but in time all were provided for comfortably if not luxuriously.

The ferry crossing the Rappahannock leaves from a landing just below the hotel. Sometime during the night it made an extra trip to the south side with some of our cars, and at eight the next morning it was again loaded, while a large open boat was provided for the majority of our party. We passed the ruins of Corotoman, destroyed by the British during the Revolution, and the river broadened out into a great bay. Our passage required about an hour, and I must admit here my ignorance and amazement, for although I knew the Potomac, I had never dreamed these other rivers were such wide

streams. The Rappahannock was an immense surprise; by the time we reached the York I had grown used to the idea of battleships being gathered there during the Great War; when at last at Jamestown I saw the fourth great river, I knew why the newcomers settled on its beautiful borders and called their home "earth's only Paradise."

The sun shone brightly and bluebird and cardinal flew across our path; we heard the sharp call of the red-winged blackbird and the more musical note of the thrush. We had left pink dogwood and laurel behind us in Washington, but here the rich scent of locust blossoms hung in the air, and great fields of crimson clover stretched to the edge of dark pines, or oak, or maple, in the lively green of Maytime. Passing along the "river road" we swept by old Christ Church, Middlesex,⁷ Rosegill, the seat of the Wormeleys, and rumbled over the bridge into Urbanna, a place of much color and background and a pretty harbor, for it was a shipping place in olden days. After being welcomed by the mayor and council we were conducted through the home of Arthur Lee, the patriot, which he called Lansdowne. There is a dignity and beauty about this house where he lived for a brief two years, with its lofty pillared portico set far back from the village street in the shadows of a grove. Inside, the restorer has obliterated some of the most charming details, the windowed closets with their paneled doors have been changed to modern window-seat recesses, and some quite useless Corinthian pillars set off the back hall. But in the rooms off the entrance hall much of the old painted paneling remains to delight the eye. After a brief visit to the graveyard we were again on our way, omitting the other points of interest in this locality in order to make up some lost time. Across Middlesex we hastened, and over the bridge where Dragon Run merges with the Pianketank, and found ourselves in Gloucester and near the ancestral Paradise lands.⁸ Soon we came to the courthouse and a debtor's prison. Our objective was old Ware Church, with its many intimate associations; here our venerable cousin, the Rev. William B. Lee, rector emeritus, and many of our local kin, were on hand to greet us. Until one has seen Ware Church he has not beheld the best of this type of colonial architecture.⁹

A half-hour run brought us to Gloucester Point on the York River, with Yorktown directly opposite.¹⁰ The hands of the clock told us that it was noon; once again we were on scheduled time.

A queer old place is this Yorktown, situated on cliffs rising high above the water. It possesses many landmarks and other objects of interest. It boasts of court records dating back to 1633, a tavern to 1745, and the church to 1700, though the last two dates are subject to certain explanations. But the communion service is original and the bell was the gift of Queen Anne. Here is the oldest Custom House in America, said to have been built in 1715, and the grave of General Nelson. Here too is his home, not to be confused with the mansion of Secretary Nelson, which was destroyed by the fire of American artillery during the siege of 1781, and whose foundations may still be seen. The garden of the General Nelson house, like all town houses of those days, is at the side and rear, walled off for greater privacy. Indeed, one's interest in the colonial mansion itself is temporarily stayed due to admiration of its gardens. On the house level, stretch after stretch of box-enclosed, tree and flower-bordered green reaches back past quaint brick offices, coach-houses, stables, etc., to a grass-covered breastwork in the rear. Nearer the house the terraces drop at the side to a lower level where pebbled paths lead among blossoming perennials. I felt thankful that this house is in the hands of owners with not only the taste but the means to keep it properly in accordance with tradition. The beauty of the wide entrance hall, with its black and white marble floor, the exquisite Persian rugs, the Duncan Phyfe dining table exactly like the one in the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum, are my most vivid recollections of the interior.

All the way to Williamsburg the yellow Scotch broom glowed at the side of the road. Legend says it was introduced in the hay imported to feed the horses of the Hessians of Cornwallis' army. We lunched under the shadow of the College walls at the Pocahontas Inn, where college boys served us with excellent southern food. Here we were joined by several carloads of kin, bringing our numbers up to nearly eighty. Refreshed and rested, we set off eagerly for Jamestown Island, a sanctuary drenched with the blood of thousands of heroes, which was the goal of our desires and the crowning point of the whole expedition. Salt marshes, instead of the river, now cut it off from the mainland, and a comfortable modern touch is the good road along a well-built causeway. You enter through high gates, a small fee is collected, and you find yourself in a park, green, rolling, and open, sloping down to the river, with a few scattered trees. Here

rises the statue of Pocahontas, the gentle wild creature whose name touches all the region with romance; here too, as if regardless of the Indian girl who saved his life, stands the figure of Captain John Smith, his face set steadfastly toward England. We pass through the arches of the old brick tower, a silent reminder of the first brick church in America, in which our Founder worshiped in 1641.¹¹ The one which replaced it was used at least occasionally until about 1760, but fell into ruin not too long after. Now a modern chapel encloses all the ancient foundations. Here we stood on the same tile floor that our forefathers trod, we joined in the hymn "O God, our help in ages past," and Dr. Beverley Tucker read the psalms used by Robert Hunt on another Mayday in 1607. Commemorative tablets looked down on us from the walls: "To the living memory of his deceased friend, Captain John Smith," then, "This stone commemorates the Princess Pocahontas," and hard by, the stone set up "In grateful memory of Thomas West, third Baron Delaware, Governor of Virginia, 1609, and Saviour of the colony in the starving time of 1610." Next to this is the memorial to "Chanco, Christian Indian boy, whose warnings saved the Colony of Virginia in 1622."

Those days of suspense and hunger and massacre lived again for us, and we echoed reverently the words of the tribute set there by the Colonial Dames:

To the glory of God and in grateful remembrance of the adventurers in England and ancient planters in Virginia who, through evil report and loss of fortune, through suffering and death, maintained stout hearts and laid the foundations of our country.

On a grassy slope looking out on the river, the actual foundations of some of the early houses were discovered only a few years ago. Now the cellars have been excavated and the walls revealed. Careful signs mark off the boundaries of the "Governor's House" and the Ludwell house, and request visitors to walk on the turf rather than on these foundations. Close by stands a little museum where objects recovered by excavation and washed up by the river are treasured under glass. It gives one a shock of surprise to see thimbles and scissors exactly like those of today except for dents and the blackening of time, and white clay pipes similar to those we have all known. There are many graves around the church: those of James Blair and his wife, Sarah Harrison, and Philip Ludwell and his wife, Hannah

Harrison. At the foot of the Ludwell tombs are the graves of William Lee of Greenspring and his son, William Ludwell Lee, who manumitted all his slaves. He it was who built the brick wall around the graveyard, using the bricks of the old church, by then in ruins. Here also is the grave of Lady Berkeley. There is a quaintly humorous inscription to Hannah Ludwell, who "after a most exemplary life spent in cheerful innocence and constant exercise of piety, charity and hospitality, patiently submitted to death" in 1731.

With less talk and merriment we motored back to Williamsburg, where the same sort of spell lingers. On a side street we saw the "oldest house," which in 1699 was the only building large enough to house the House of Burgesses until other quarters could be provided. Resingled a few years ago, its roof yielded up Indian arrowheads. And then we stopped at Bruton Church, named in affectionate remembrance of Bruton, England, whence came the Ludwells. There was a church here in 1632, though the present building dates from only about 1710.¹² It is cruciform in shape and possesses a three-tiered steeple, like a slim lady in a flounced skirt. To me the most interesting detail of the interior was not the Colonial Governor's chair of state and canopied pew; not the famous names of Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Lee, Patrick Henry, and many others; not Roosevelt's gift of a lectern nor Edward VII's of a Bible, but those three sets of communion silver so carefully treasured here. One, dating from 1661, came from the Jamestown church; the second, known as the College Service, was presented by Lady Gooch; the third was given by King George in 1766.

Here were church and state founded together, inseparable in tradition and history. You may smile, perhaps, when you see here the prayer book with the prayer for King George carefully blotted out, and another with the prayer for the President of the United States significantly erased. The transepts of this church were built for the early House of Burgesses, and the old bell, made in England in 1761, by a dramatic irony of fate pealed out to summon the Revolutionary patriots. Here, for the first time in America, was civil independence proclaimed, on May 15, 1776. Virginia may have hesitated to join the Confederacy in 1861, but she led the van in declaring herself in 1776.

We reached Richmond that evening, dog-tired and serenely happy, but the next day I met with a sharp disappointment. It had been decided that we were too large a company to foist upon strangers on a

Sunday morning, and Westover and Shirley were ruled out of our itinerary. The party was breaking up and people were beginning to leave when suddenly there dropped from the clouds three charming people, semidistant cousins, who had joined us at Williamsburg. Hearing of my regret at missing Westover they gave up their Sunday and devoted themselves and their car to a perfectly unknown relation. How southern and how Virginian! On the trip, by some lucky chance we missed a turn, and so I saw Berkeley too, an old brick country place, used as McClellan's headquarters after Malvern Hill. My guides were rich in historical lore, and I found that Lafayette marched here, Tarleton's cavalry had fled up that road, Benedict Arnold had stayed at Westover, etc.

As we turned into the Westover road a diminutive darkey appearing from nowhere swung open the last gateway and we motored by a wide circling driveway to the front door of one of the most famous seats in America. The stately brick mansion with its slate roof seems to stretch out indefinitely into elongated wings. Its front looks on fields and woodlands, and at the back a great lawn slopes down to the banks of the James. You catch your breath at the beauty of the surroundings; you marvel at the gardens; you enter the great hall and admire the paneling, the ornamental plastered ceilings, and the black and white marble mantel which Colonel Byrd brought from Italy at a cost of \$2,500. There is exquisite furniture here now, collected from all over the world by ex-Ambassador Crane, the owner. But the great interest of the place lies even more in its old associations than in its intrinsic beauty. Colonel William Byrd was one of the great men of his time. He owned 178,000 acres, he collected the finest library in America, and his daughter, Evelyn, was the belle of a London season. Their portraits and their tombs survive, and the latter may be seen here. Though Westover no longer belongs to the people who built it, the Byrds are not forgotten, for those of the present day have added luster to a famous name.

Surely the heritage that counts is not merely one of house and lands, nor people valued for what they own rather than what they are. I remember the thrill of family pride that I felt as I glanced about the assembled group at the close of that short memorial service in the Jamestown church. Counting those who had joined us at Williamsburg we numbered then about seventy-five. There was our good Bishop Kinsolving of Brazil and six other clergymen; there, too,

were businessmen, a lawyer, a farmer, contractors, and engineers; some women of charm and distinction, and then those on the threshold of life: a high school boy, a young collegian, and several pretty girls. It was impossible to see those earnest and interested faces and not feel sure that the Lee tradition was being upheld and carried on.

NOTES

PART SEVEN

¹ The house was destroyed by fire March 5, 1930.

² Camp Humphries is now Fort Belvoir.

³ This was written by Cazenove Lee before the restoration of Wakefield.

⁴ His son Joseph married Mrs. Anne (Eustace) Hill, a great-granddaughter of Hancock Lee; his son, John, married Agatha Conway Eustace, sister of Anne (Eustace) Hill, and secondly, Mrs. Judith (Lee) Peirce, daughter of Kendall Lee of Ditchley.

⁵ For a number of years annual trips were made by the Lee Society and friends to some of the places described in this guide. In November, 1922, Wakefield and Stratford were visited as well as Chantilly and Montross; the next day the party went on to Lee Hall, Mount Pleasant, and Yeocomico Church, and returned to Washington via the ferry. A number of these places were revisited the following year and in May, 1924, another Stratford pilgrimage was held, at which time stops at Sabine Hall, Mount Airy, and Menokin were included.

⁶ This was of course before the restoration of Stratford, as was the pilgrimage described in Chapter I of Part VII.

⁷ At Christ Church, Middlesex, three generations of the Yates family served as ministers over a period of 98 years. Here are the tombs of the Grymes family, who lived nearby at Brandon and Grymesby on the Pianketank. Here also are tombs of the Wormeleys, who contributed five members to the Council and served this church as vestrymen during five generations. Not far from here is Rosegill, the Wormeley estate, which earlier was the home of Sir Henry Chichester, Deputy Governor of Virginia in 1678. He married Agatha Eltonhead, widow of the first Ralph Wormeley. Her sister Alice was the wife of the first Henry Corbin. At Rosegill in 1714, Judith Wormeley, first wife of George Lee of Mount Pleasant, was born.

⁸ This property, the first in America to be owned by the Lees, remained in their hands from 1642 until the days of Thomas Sim Lee, who appears to have lost it. Near here, at Adner, Colonel Richard Lee had his warehouse on Poropotank Creek. Not far is old Petsworth (Petsoe) Church, where he may have worshiped. A single tombstone and some sunken graves are all that can be seen there now.

⁹ Due south of Ware Church is Abingdon Church, where Lucy Higginson's tomb may be seen. East of here is the Warner estate, overlooking the Severn River. This property was patented in the 17th century by Augustine Warner, a member of the Council, who enjoys the unusual distinction of being the

common ancestor of George Washington and Robert E. Lee. He is also the ancestor of Queen Elizabeth II, through her maternal line.

¹⁰ Gloucester Point was once known as Tindall's Point and is the place where Colonel Richard Lee was living at the time of the Indian massacre of 1644. On the opposite side of the York, near Yorktown, is another Lee Hall, seat of a Lee family of York County, descended from a Henry Lee who settled there in or prior to 1644, when Colonel Richard Lee was living on the other side of the river in Gloucester. Not only were Richard and Henry Lee contemporaries but they were also close friends, though the relationship, if any, has never been established. The estate remained in the family until it was sold in World War I.

¹¹ In addition to Colonel Richard Lee who worshiped here while serving as Burgess, Attorney General, Secretary of State and Privy Councillor, Richard Lee II and the first Philip Ludwell knew this church before and after Bacon burned it in 1676. The one built to replace it probably escaped the conflagration of 1698, which marked the end of old "James Towne," but it fell into ruin about 1785. Its last rector was the Rev. James Madison, who was ordained in 1776 by the Bishop of London, served William and Mary College as president, and in 1790 was consecrated first Bishop of Virginia.

¹² The first church was probably of wood, but in 1676 a brick church was erected on land given by John Page, prior to the present one in 1710-15. Bruton Church was the church of members of the second, third, fourth, and fifth generations of the Lee family. It was in Williamsburg that Thomas Lee and his son, Philip Ludwell Lee, served as members of the Council, just as Colonel Richard Lee and his son, the second Richard, had done at Jamestown, and it seems probable that Thomas Lee, while acting as Governor in 1749, may have occupied the canopied throne in Bruton Church reserved for His Majesty's representative. In the church are memorial pews to Thomas and Philip Ludwell and Edmund Jenings, all vestrymen, and to Richard Bland and Richard Henry Lee, among others. Jenings' tombstone is also inside, and in the churchyard are the tombstones of John Page, Francis Fauquier, Daniel Parke, Thomas Ludwell, and others.

FINIS

DURING the three centuries since the first Richard Lee came to Virginia in 1640 this family has had some interesting experiences: with a governor named Berkeley and a rebel named Bacon; a family named Fairfax, a king named Carter and another named George the Third. We know the parts played by Richard I and II in these happenings and we are beginning to understand what a really important role Thomas Lee enacted in the affairs of his day, from all of which we are better able to understand the development of the character of his sons. No one will claim that Thomas Lee owed all he became to his paternal grandfather, from whom he inherited a cow pasture in Northumberland, and no one will argue that the Stratford immortals were fortunate above all men in being descended from a particular great-grandfather. In Richard Lee, Henry Corbin, Philip Ludwell, and Benjamin Harrison they had four great-grandfathers of whom they might well be proud. Yet the fact remains that Colonel Richard Lee appears to have given a certain moral impetus to the character of his descendants during several generations.

Throughout the century and a half which preceded the Revolution these early Lees occupied the highest offices of public trust in the Colony of Virginia. They were seated in Council during four successive generations, a record equaled by no other family, and they played a leading part in raising Virginia to that position of pre-eminence which she enjoyed. In due season they passed this heritage of stout hearts and strong minds on to their children, some of whom forsook the pleasant fields of Virginia and pioneered westward, while others grew up to be the Virginia patriots of 1776.

The record of the Lees since the Revolution tells a continuing story of devotion to duty in many fields. They took part in the hap-

penings in Virginia in 1860 and afterwards, when they played some lone hands well and led some forlorn hopes bravely. Historians often overlook the fact that there was a marked disinclination on the part of Virginia and the Lees to withdraw from the Union. Once the die was cast, however, Robert E. Lee assumed command of all Virginia's forces; seventy-five other members of the Lee family, including five major generals, served in the Confederate army and navy, and 25 per cent of these lost their lives. This family also contributed a major general and a rear admiral to the Union forces, and has continued to serve with distinction in all subsequent wars in which this country has been engaged.

The Lees gave the United States a president in the person of Zachary Taylor, and in Charles Lee an attorney general. Blair Lee, Wilkinson Call, and Edward Douglas White have represented the family in the United States Senate as worthy successors to Richard Henry Lee, first Senator from Virginia. White, who served as a private in the Confederate Army, rose to be Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. George William Smith and General Fitzhugh Lee, two successors of Light Horse Harry Lee as governor of Virginia, were drawn from these latter-day Lees, and in Maryland, a century after Thomas Sim Lee had served as Revolutionary governor, John Lee Carroll carried on the family tradition of public service in the same office. The Lee family has also supplied the Episcopal Church with a goodly number of clergy and several bishops, including William Meade, the historian, and Henry St. George Tucker, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States.

The year 1940 marks the tercentenary of the arrival in Virginia of Colonel Richard Lee, the common ancestor of all these men. Down in Northumberland on the Cobbs Hall estate are two spots of interest to all his descendants and to all patriotic Americans. One is in all probability the site of his Dividing Creek home; the other the ruinous enclosure, covered with myrtle and shaded by a giant sycamore, where in 1664 he was laid to rest in an unmarked grave. Surely this spot is worth preserving, for by all the tests that can be applied he stands as a worthy sire.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

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Appendix A

THE LANCELOT LEE LETTER

THE following letter from Lancelot Lee of Coton, Shropshire, to Thomas Lee of Stratford, Virginia, appeared in print for the first time in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for 1898, Volume VI, page 259. It is included here despite its obvious errors, not for any historical or genealogical value, but because it is a family document.

The letter, evidently a reply to an inquiry into family history, was based on what Lancelot was able to gather from the official family pedigree of 1623, for he himself knew nothing about Thomas' line, and said so. Thomas apparently furnished him with what details he knew about his family's origin and asked for more information. He may only have said that his ancestor was a Richard Lee of the Coton family, and Lancelot, referring to the pedigree, named the eight sons of John of Coton, specifying that "your ancestor Richard . . . was the sixth son," and continued with "in the year 1616, at which time you say he came to Virginia . . ." which is of course an error, as he came in 1640. Thomas surely knew the date of his own grandfather's arrival and was familiar with the titles to his own lands, which had come to him from this grandfather and which would show that Colonel Lee was not living in Virginia as early as 1616. Lancelot evidently misread Thomas' correct date of 1640 as 1616, and also confused the Emigrant, Colonel Richard Lee, with Richard Lee, Gent., John of Coton's sixth son, who might possibly have made a trip to Virginia in 1616, but since he was born in 1563 could hardly have been the emigrant to Virginia who died in 1664.

Lancelot was also mistaken about their Saxon origin, for although the surname is of Saxon derivation (meaning a grassy tract in the midst of the forest), the first provable ancestor was Reyner de Lega,

the Norman. Two additional errors are due to confusion in the official pedigree itself (see Note 6, Part One). Margaret Astley's husband is called Robert instead of Roger, and their son, Robert, husband of Petronilla Lee of Langley, is called Roger. Lancelot's statement that Humphrey Lee "built a house about a half mile from Nordley and called it Coton—the family seat ever since" is very misleading. The Nordley he refers to was Nordley Farm, an ancient dwelling within the manor of Nordley Regis, of which Coton Hall has always been the seat. Humphrey Lee merely rebuilt the mansion, in Elizabethan times, on the original foundations.

Since Lancelot Lee obviously had the Pedigree of 1623 before him when he wrote, the absurd clerical errors which appear in the printed version are doubtless due to copyists in Virginia of the original letter, which has long since disappeared. They are as follows: Domini de Boden for Dominus de Roden (Lord of Roden); Dominie de Langley for Dominus de Langley; Locosa Packinton for Jocosa (Joyce) Packington; Johanna Minter for Johanna Morton; Locosa Rowney for Jocosa (Joyce) Romney; Tobias for Josias; Dorothy Patty of Pockford for Dorothy Oteley of Pitchford.

Coton, Shropshire, May 21, 1745

The first of our family came into England with the Saxons. One of the descendants was High Sheriff of this county in the 19th of William the Conqueror. Till 1327 there is no mention where they lived and then John Lee is called Dominie de Boden. Robert, his grandson in 1385, married Margaret daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Astley, of Nordley (which estate we have possessed ever since), and in her right quarter the Astley arms, as you see on my seal. By her he had two sons, Roger and John. Roger is called Dominie de Langley. This place is near Shrewsbury—it continued in the elder branch of our family till it was extinct. In Gibon's edition of Camden's *Britania*, after a description of Shrewsbury, is this account: "Near this town is situated Langley, the seat of the ancient family of Lees, which is now extinct." They knew nothing of the second son, John, from whom we are descended.

John married Locosa Packinton (of a Worcestershire family), and had by her one son, Thomas, who married Elizabeth Corbine. They had an only son, Thomas, who married Johanna Minter of Haughton.

Humphrey, his son, built a house about a half mile from Nordley, and called it Coton—the family seat ever since. He married Catherine Blount. This marriage produced an only son, John, the father of our ancestors. He married Locosa Rowney (of a Worcestershire family), who was a fruitful example to her descendants, about the year 1560, and had by her eight sons—Thomas, his heir, William, who died an infant, Edward, Gilbert, Jasper, Richard, Ferdinand and Tobias. We have no account of what became of any of them, so that some of their posterity may still be living as well as yourself. Thomas married between the years 1584 and 1590; at that time he must have been between twenty and thirty years old. Your ancestor, Richard, you see, was the sixth son, so that he must have been at least that number of years younger than his brother Thomas. By this computation, in the year 1616 (at which time you say he came to Virginia), he must have been between thirty and forty years old. A fine time of life, when the understanding and body are in full perfection, to undertake the settlement of a colony. By the desire I have myself to know the particulars of your branch of the family, since the separation, I judge that the following particulars, relating to my own, will be agreeable to you:

Thomas married Dorothy Patty, of Pockford, in this county, and had the following children: Lancelot, his son and heir, Elinora, Jocosa, Jane, John (extinct), Catherine, Mary, Anne and Martha. Of what became of the daughters, I have no account. Lancelot had two wives, Jane Hempson and Elizabeth Gough (both of Staffordshire families). He died in 1663, aged 70. By his first wife he left three children—John, who died unmarried, Thomas, his heir, and Richard; by his second wife he left seven children—Lancelot, Thomas, Humphrey, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Ann and Jane. Thomas had three wives; the first was mother to my father; she brought him Eldred Lancelot, John, Thomas and Dorothy. Her name was Dorothy Eldred, of a Suffolk family. His second wife was Lady Mary Hewit, widow of Doctor Hewit and daughter of the Earl of Lindsay; she brought no children. The third wife was Charity Rivers, of a Kentish family; by her he had George, James and John. My father, Eldred Lancelot Lee, married the youngest daughter of Sir Harry Gough, of a Staffordshire family. She is now alive. We are at present a numerous family—seven daughters and three sons. My uncle Thomas' widow is still living, and she has one son, who has changed his name and has a good estate in Wiltshire. My uncle John left behind him one son, who is a clergyman and has a living in Oxfordshire. It is very extraordinary that any family, considering the great revolutions that

have so frequently happened in England, should remain for nearly 700 years in the same state which our family has done. The last two or three generations must certainly have been very frugal, or they could not have preserved the estate. Variety of wives and a large number of daughters are very heavy weight upon land, and can only be balanced by very prudent management. The estate has been increased only in proportion to the value of money. By this may very fairly be collected that we are not an avaricious people. From the first part of this letter you will readily discover me to be a talkative young man, who has not had the cares of a family to compose his mind; curiosity has thrown me a good deal abroad in the world, but at present I live in the country, entirely taken up with the diversions my gardens and fields afford me, and endeavoring to make Mahomet's Paradise by Art, which you enjoy by Nature. Your fruits and shades are indeed delightful. I have tasted them in the Eastern though not in the "Western" World. In both I imagine they are equally perfect; but Mahomet's own black-eyed girls could not excell our English women. At least I would think so, had I once fixed my choice. I have proportioned the length of my letter to the length of the journey it must go; by the length of your return, I shall measure your approbation.

After all give me leave to beg a small favor of you—the following trees are, I believe, native of Virginia, which I have endeavored to procure seeds of, but have hitherto been unsuccessful—the Virginia Cypress (it grows on wet marshy land), the scarlet oak and the paria, or scarlet flowering horse chestnut. The cones of the Cypress should be sent entire; the acorns and chestnuts will easily keep so short a voyage. Pardon this trouble, which if I can return with anything this Island affords within my power, you may fully command.

Your humble servant,
(Signed) Lancelot Lee.

Mr. Thomas Lee.

Appendix B

NOTES ON THE MARYLAND LEES

Philip Lee, third son of Richard Lee II and grandson of Colonel Richard Lee the Emigrant, went to Maryland to live about 1700; sometime around 1707 he married Sarah Brooke, and about 1725-26 Mrs. Elizabeth Sewell became his second wife. By these two wives he had eighteen children, one of whom was "Squire Richard Lee of Blenheim," a contemporary and first cousin of "Squire Richard Lee of Lee Hall," in Virginia.

Squire Richard Lee of Maryland was born in 1708 and died March 26, 1789, according to his tombstone. He served in the Proprietor's Council as early as 1755 and was the last president of that body. His wife was Grace Ashton, by whom he had the following children:

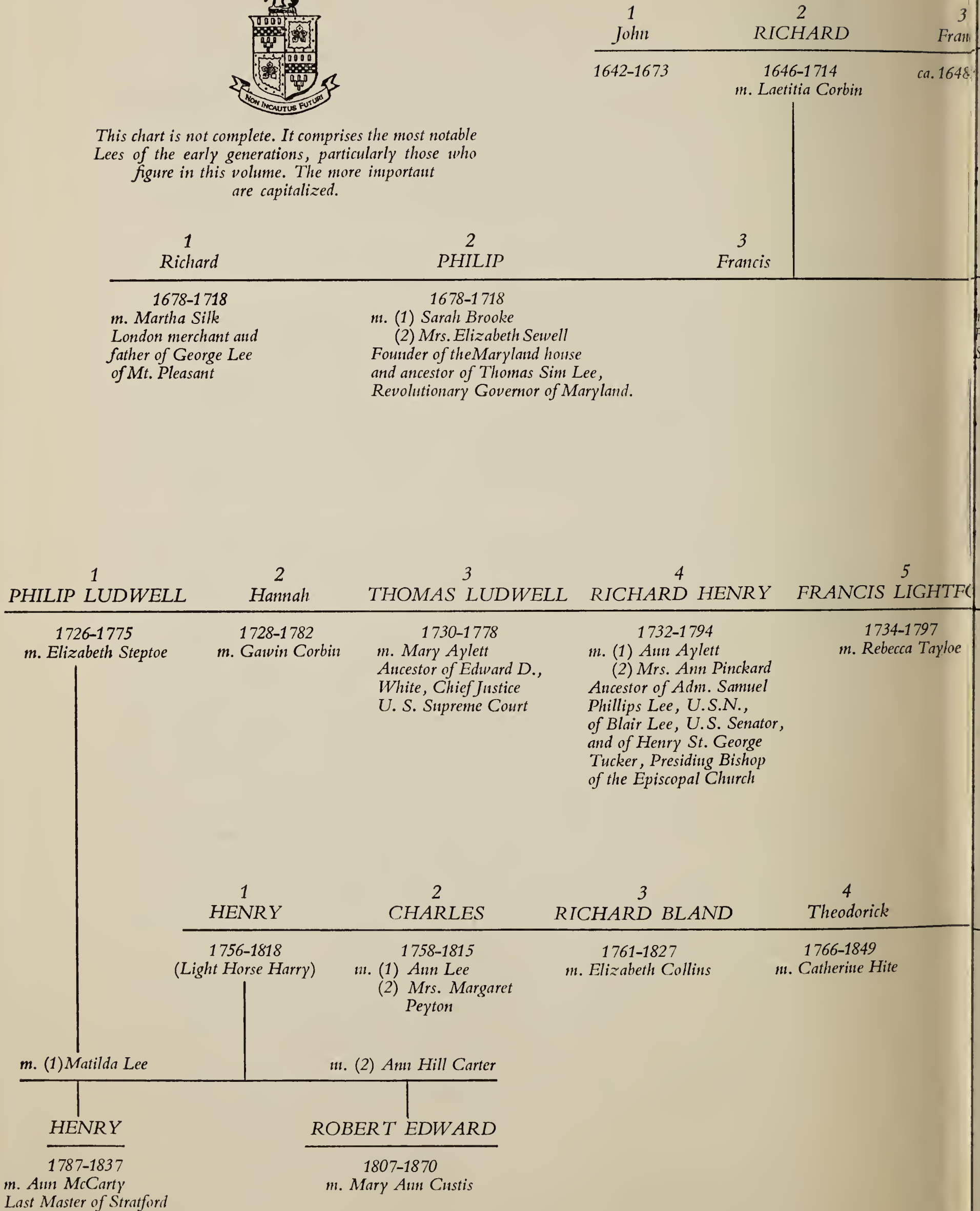
1. *Philip Richard Francis Lee*. This son, who was called Richard, served as a captain with the Virginia forces for three years during the Revolution, and received wounds at the Battle of the Brandywine from which he suffered for many years, though he was able to return to the army, his total service amounting to seven years and eight months. He was evidently in poor health for a long period prior to his death about 1834, for in London on December 8, 1783, he executed a power of attorney to his father and his sister Alice to manage his affairs, and from the will of another sister, Elinor, in 1805 it appears that he was an invalid at the time. (Charles County Records, Book Z, 3, 178)
2. *Philip Thomas Lee*. Attended Eton (1753-56) and Cambridge, married a Miss Russell of England, and died at Blenheim, his father's seat on the Potomac, on November 28, 1778. These were his children:
 - (a) *Russell Lee*. Died from the kick of a horse in 1793, aged 17.

Chart B. Genealogical Chart

The Lees of Virginia



This chart is not complete. It comprises the most notable Lees of the early generations, particularly those who figure in this volume. The more important are capitalized.



RICHARD LEE

1600-1664
m. Anne Constable

4
William

5
HANCOCK

6
Elizabeth

7
Anne

8
CHARLES

1650-1696

1652-1709

b. 1653(?)

b. 1653(?)

1656-1700

m. (1) Mary Kendall
(2) Sarah Allerton
Founder of the Ditchley
line and ancestor of
Zachary Taylor,
U.S. President

m. Leonard Howson

m. Thomas Youell

Founder of the
Cobbs Hall line
m. Elizabeth Metstand

4
THOMAS

5
HENRY

6
Ann

1690-1750
m. Hannah Ludwell
Founder of the
Stratford line

1691-1747
m. Mary Bland
Founder of the
Leesylvania line

d. 1732
m. William Fitzhugh
Ancestress of
Mrs. Robert E. Lee

1
John

2
("Squire") RICHARD

3
HENRY

4
Laetitia

1724-1767
m. Mrs. Mary Ball

1726-1795
m. Sarah Poythress

1729-1787
m. Lucy Grymes

1730-1788

6
Alice

7
WILLIAM

8
ARTHUR

1736-1818
m. William Shippen

1739-1795
m. Hannah Philippa
Ludwell

1740-1792

5
Edmund Jennings

6
Lucy

7
Mary

8
Anne

1772-1843
m. Sarah Lee

b. 1774

m. Philip R. Fendall

1776-1857

- (b) *Sarah Russell Lee*. Married the Hon. Benjamin Contee, judge and clergyman, April 8, 1788.
 - (c) *Margaret Russell Lee*. Married James Clerk and changed the name to Clerklee. He died March 14, 1819, aged 61.
 - (d) *Elinor Lee*. Married Dr. William Dawson.
 - (e) *Ann Lee*. Married William Gamble.
3. *Sarah Lettice Lee*. Married on September 20, 1759, to her first cousin, Philip Richard Fendall (son of Benjamin Fendall and Elinor Lee and thus a nephew of Squire Richard), but had no issue. Fendall, who was Clerk of the Charles County Court, later married Elizabeth Steptoe, widow of Philip Ludwell Lee of Stratford, and his third wife was Mary, a sister of Light Horse Harry Lee.
 4. *Elinor Ann Lee*. Died unmarried.
 5. *Alice Lee*. Married John Weems, April 7, 1788.

Philip Lee, first of the Maryland line, inherited from his father, Richard Lee II, the Maryland lands known as "Lee's Purchase." These lands, situated on the Potomac in Charles County, had come down from Colonel Richard to William, one of his younger sons, from whom Richard Lee II, as heir-at-law to his father's estate, had acquired them. According to the second Richard's will (1714), "I give to my son Philip Lee and his heirs forever, all my right, title, and claim to a tract of land at Cedar Point in Maryland called Lee's Purchase, late in possession of Philip Lynes, and for which I have been at law for some time."

This will shows that Philip, although he had been in Maryland some fourteen years, was not living on the Lee's Purchase property. Blenheim, the home he had built about 1704, and which became the seat of the Maryland Lees, was located several miles back from the river, on an adjoining tract which he left in his will (1743) to his son George. "I give to my son George Lee and his heirs forever that Tract or Parcell of Land I bought of John Ashmar, Joyning on the Tract, left by my hon'd Father deceased, called Lee's Purchase or Stump Dale, near Cedar Point on Potomack river."

Philip Lee succeeded in obtaining title to the Lee's Purchase land, in litigation at the time of his father's death, and left it to his wife. "I give to my Beloved wife . . . all that Tract and parcell of land called Lee's Purchase or Stump Dale, whereon I have built a fine

Bakehouse and . . . mill. . . ." One of the provisions of his wife's inheritance was that she remain a Protestant. Philip's son, George, sold this Lee's Purchase property to John Laidler of Charles County, and it passed out of the Lee family. Yet it still is of interest, for on it is the old graveyard in which Squire Lee is buried, together with his wife, a daughter, and a grandson. It seems odd that he chose this spot, for the property did not belong to him, but to his younger brother, George; furthermore Blenheim, Squire Richard's home, where we would expect him to be buried, was several miles away.

John Laidler left the Lee's Purchase property to his son Robert in 1774, and we know that in the same year John's widow was keeping a tavern and operating a ferry there, for mention of both is made in the diary of Philip Fithian, tutor to the Carter children of Nomini Hall in Virginia. He spent a couple of nights at this tavern, on the way to and from his home in New Jersey, and on one of these occasions paid a call at Blenheim in the evening. The old Laidler house which was the tavern still stands and the graveyard is around to the side, about two hundred feet from the house and away from the river. It was once enclosed by a brick wall about thirty feet square.

The first grave is that of Alice Lee, daughter of Squire Lee and wife of John Weems. Then comes the grave of the Squire's wife, Grace Ashton, and then that of the Squire himself, whose inscription reads as follows:

RICHARD LEE OF BLENHEIM, MARYLAND

died on the 26th of March 1789,
in the 81st year of age.

In the course of his life he filled
with credit numerous offices of
high trust and was the last president of
MARYLAND

But he possessed native charm and dignity
superior to all his adventitious Honors:
the scene of these is now closed, and his
remains lie here.

All, all on earth is shadow, all beyond is substance
How solid all, whence change shall be no more.

This stone is inscribed to
His Memory by his ever
affectionate daughter

E. A. Lee

The fourth grave is unmarked, but at the foot of it is the grave of Russell Lee, grandson of Squire Richard and son of Philip Thomas Lee. Alice, Grace, and Richard all died in 1789, and Russell in 1793. The tombstones are fine marble slabs and are the pious tribute of Squire Richard Lee's daughter Elinor Ann. She died on May 17, 1806, and is probably in the unmarked grave beside her father.

On the way to Newburg, about a quarter of a mile from that hamlet, another old graveyard may be seen. Here on a knoll to the west stood Blenheim, said to have been destroyed by fire during the Civil War. In the burying ground are two tombs. The first, in the form of an obelisk, is "sacred to the memory of Edmund H. Contee, whose mortal remains lie buried under this marble. 'He was cut off in the spring of life, etc. . . .' Born 27th of August, 1799, died the 18th of July, 1832." Sarah Russell Lee, a daughter of Philip Thomas Lee and sister of the Russell Lee buried at Laidler's, married the Honorable Benjamin Contee, and this is the grave of their son. The second tomb is that of James Clerk (the husband of another one of Russell's sisters, Margaret Russell Lee), who changed his name to Clerklee. The Latin inscription on his tomb is translated: "James Clerklee, a native of London, died March 4th, 1819, age 61."

Thomas Sim Lee, a grandson of the first Philip Lee of Maryland, was the most illustrious of the Maryland branch. Born on October 29, 1745, in Prince George County, the son of Thomas Lee and Sarah Brooke, he was twice governor of the state. He served in the Provincial Council of 1777 and was elected governor of Maryland in 1779 by the legislature, being the second to hold office under the state constitution. He was a member of the Continental Congress of 1783-84, and was elected to the Constitutional Convention which met to ratify the Constitution. In 1792 he was again elected governor of the state; in 1798, when offered a third term he declined the election. While in this office he rendered great service to the cause of independence by co-operating in the movement of the troops of Lafayette

and Wayne from the Elk River to Yorktown, thus insuring the capture of Cornwallis. He was married on October 7, 1771, to Mary Digges, only daughter of Ignatius Digges of Prince George County, Maryland, and had eight children. His death occurred on the 9th of October, 1819.

Appendix C

HANCOCK LEE'S DESCENDANTS

HANCOCK LEE, fifth son of Richard Lee the Emigrant, left his estate, Ditchley, to his oldest son, Richard, who lived there all his life. This Richard Lee's sons, John and Isaac, died without issue and his daughters, Anna and Elizabeth, and his youngest son, Hancock, Jr., married and left many descendants who were explorers and settlers of the western lands. Following are notes on some of these pioneering members of the Ditchley line.

Hancock Lee, Jr.

Hancock Lee, Jr., of the third generation, was born in 1709 and died in 1762. He inherited land on the Occoquan in Fairfax from his father, and property on Horsepen Run of the Rappahannock River from his brother, Isaac. Like his father, Hancock, Jr., was of a roving nature. There is a record of his purchase of two lots in Fredericksburg in 1735, and in 1739 his name was removed from the list of justices in Spotsylvania, indicating a change of address. By 1750, when he sold the lots in Fredericksburg, he was described as being "of the county of King George." This leads to the conclusion that he was at that time living on his lands on Horsepen Run near the present Hartwood, then in King George, now in Stafford County. He must have moved to Fauquier at some time prior to 1760, for in February of that year his name appears in the Court Minute Books of that county in several suits-at-law. In November of 1763, the year following his death, his widow was appointed guardian for his younger children; she was Mary Willis, daughter of Colonel Henry Willis of Fred-

ericksburg, whom he married in 1733. From this union there were a number of children. Willis Lee, the eldest son, was killed by the Indians in Kentucky in 1776. Mary Willis, a daughter, married Captain Ambrose Madison, a younger brother of President Madison. Two younger sons, Hancock⁴ and John, carried on the pioneering tradition.

John Lee, the younger of the two, had a distinguished Revolutionary War record. He was born in 1743, and first married Laetitia Atwell of Culpeper, who died in childbirth on March 29, 1775. Their only child, Willis Atwell Lee, was reared and educated by his uncle, Hancock⁴ Lee, while Major Lee was off at war; this son grew up and was a presidential elector for James Madison.

In the late summer of 1775 John Lee joined a regiment commanded first by Colonel Patrick Henry, and was later attached to a company of which Richard Taylor was lieutenant and he, John Lee, ensign. They marched to Williamsburg in October and a month later he was in charge of a detachment at Jamestown when a large sloop was captured. Early in 1776 while serving as a first lieutenant in the First Virginia Regiment he was appointed captain of Marines on the sloop *Liberty*, on which vessel he served until December of that year. He marched northward again in June of 1777, spent the following winter at Valley Forge, and was transferred to the Second Virginia as a major when that regiment arrived there in the spring of 1778. He joined troops at Petersburg in the winter of 1779-80 and served under Gates in the Carolinas.

His second wife, whom he married about December 18, 1781, was his cousin, Elizabeth Bell, herself a descendant of the first Charles Lee of Cobbs Hall.

Major Lee and his family moved to Woodford County, Kentucky, about 1792, where his children married into influential families in that section. A daughter, Sarah, became the wife of the Honorable John J. Crittenden, United States Senator from Kentucky and Attorney General under Harrison and Fillmore; their son was Major-General George Bibb Crittenden, C.S.A. Another daughter, Lucinda, became the mother of General George Call of the Confederate Army, and of the Honorable Wilkinson Call, United States Senator from Florida.

Hancock⁴ Lee, the other surviving son of Hancock³ Lee and Mary Willis, was born April 7, 1740, and died in March, 1819. Sometime between 1771 and 1774 (there is a disagreement as to the year),

he, with his brother, Willis, and his cousin, Hancock Taylor, made an expedition to Kentucky. Both his companions were killed by the Indians, and he himself is said to have been captured. According to his grandson, Hancock⁴ Lee made twenty trips to Kentucky on the same horse! He was surveyor for the Ohio Company, and in connection with this work he visited Washington at Mount Vernon and George Mason at Gunston Hall.

In December of 1776 he married Winifred Eustace Beale, daughter of his first cousin, Elizabeth Eustace, and John Beale of Richmond County. The marriage is recorded in King George County, which would indicate that his home was then in that county, on the old Lee patents above Falmouth. His name appears in the Court Minute Books of Fauquier soon after his father's death in 1762; first in 1765 and again in March, 1767, when he qualified as administrator of his mother's estate. He appears in 1768, and frequently in 1769, but after 1770 his name disappears until 1786. In 1776 he founded a place known as Leestown, on the Kentucky River one mile below the future city of Frankfort.

One of his sons, Hancock⁵ Lee (1794-1842), became interested about 1828 in the development of Fauquier's White Sulphur Springs as a summer resort and watering place. He raised the capital and built a hotel there, in the style familiar to all who are acquainted with the old Virginia haunts of this character. In 1836 he was able to place a trust of \$32,500 on this property, and a few years later it was incorporated. The place became fashionable, and the state legislature is known to have assembled there. The hotel burned down during the Civil War, and today nothing remains save the old spring and some ruins. In the 1860's an attempt was made to revive it. The Warrenton record books contain an elaborate survey and layout, with many high-sounding names attached to fantastic lanes and boulevards. But nothing came of it; folks were too poor.

Greenview

Hancock⁴ Lee's home in Fauquier was the old Greenview plantation, situated on the Rappahannock River about four miles below Fauquier Sulphur Springs. From Warrenton it is reached by taking the state highway to Opal, turning to the right, proceeding one mile, and turning to the left into a little-used road. Two miles further is

Greenview, the first signs of its proximity being an old crossroads, site of "Fox's Shop" in bygone days, and Lee's ice pond.

The records at Warrenton do not reveal when and how the Greenview property was acquired, nor the exact number of acres comprising it, but it was the camping ground of members of the Lee family for a century and a half, perhaps longer. We know that Hancock⁴ Lee was in Fauquier in 1760, and although there is no deed to be found, he must have acquired the Greenview property from Nathaniel Hedgeman sometime prior to 1768, which shows Hancock's lands on the west. (*Fauquier Deeds*, 8, 122.) When Hancock⁴ Lee and his wife, Winifred, conveyed one hundred twenty-seven acres of the Greenview tract to their eldest son, Willis, in 1802, their deed (*Fauquier Deeds*, 15, 114) described the southern boundary as "the dividing line between Peter and Nathaniel Hedgeman." Modern deeds have established the fact that Greenview was bounded on the north by the land of Peter Routt (*Fauquier Deeds*, 60, 400); it is even possible to show that one of the eastern boundaries follows the line of Nathaniel Hedgeman's patent; the western bound was the Rappahannock River. Records of the Hedgeman patents of 1724, each for two thousand twenty-five acres, may be seen in Richmond. These surveys can be plotted on a piece of paper, and the grant of one hundred seventy-four acres to Peter Routt tacked onto Nathaniel Hedgeman's land on the north; there can then be no doubt as to the location of these properties (Figure 13). From one of the deeds (*Fauquier Deeds*, 68, 214) we were able to plot the old road from Greenview to the mill, which may still be seen; a portion of it is in use today.

Greenview possesses a vast appeal to anyone seeking to penetrate its mysterious background. The ancient house stands on high ground a little more than a mile back from the river. Burned in the brick of the foundation, most of which is of stone, are the cryptic initials "H.W." and the date, 1781. A short distance away is a section of the house which was detached from the main building many years ago. Even in its utter dilapidation its windows, doors, and dormers give a picture of what the main part of the house looked like before the war of 1861.

The graveyard is half a mile southwest of the house, indicating that an older house may have stood nearby. A small lot containing two graves is enclosed by a wall of stubble stonework. On one of the

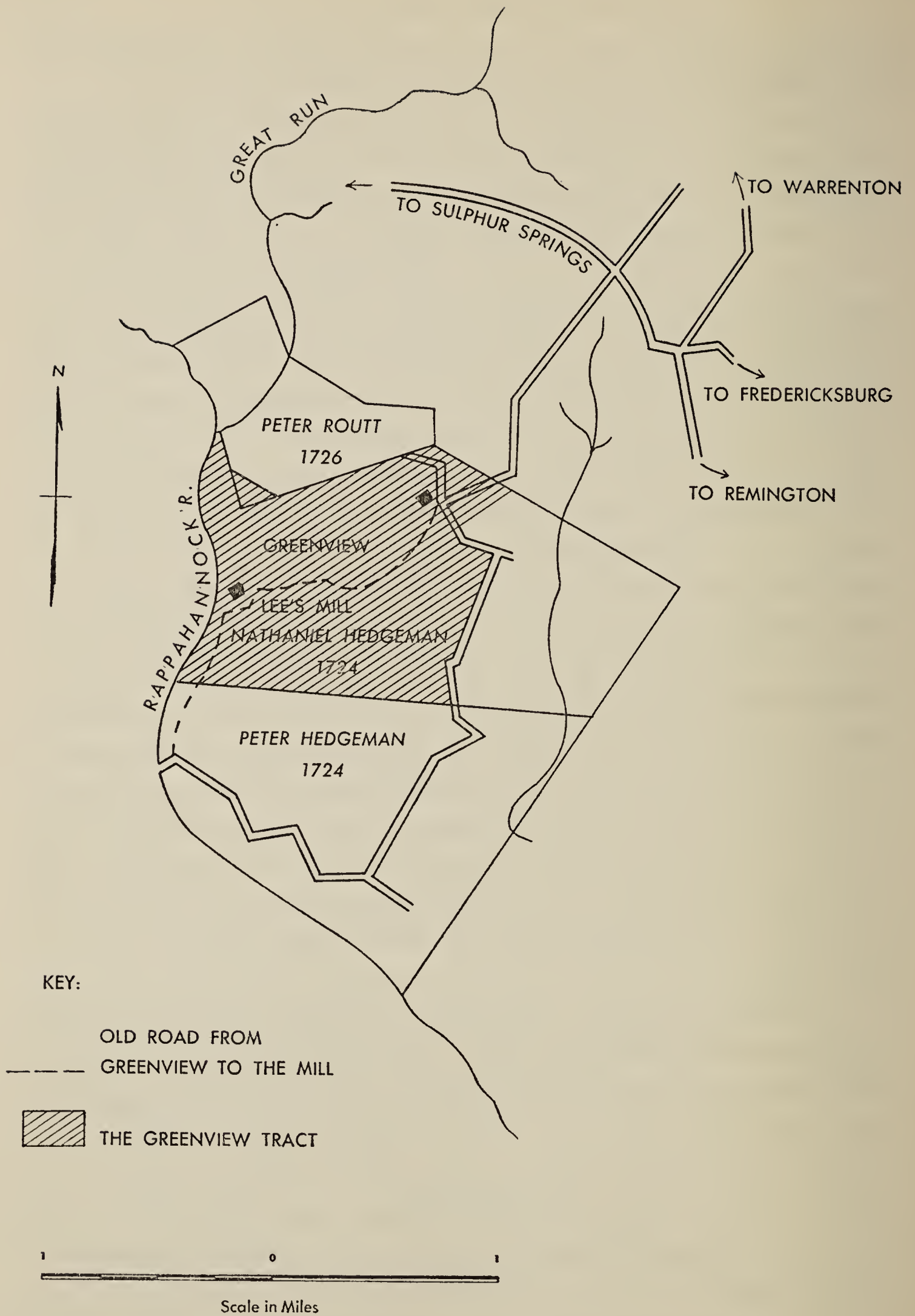


Figure 13. Location of Greenview Tract in Fauquier.

graves is the tombstone of Mary W. Richards (1825-1854), probably a daughter of Emmeline Lee. Outside the wall are several other graves; one, marked with the initials "F.L.," is very likely that of Fanny Lee, Hancock⁴ Lee's daughter who died about 1868. About three hundred feet away, down a gentle slope, there is a collection of large boulders at a spring, possibly the ruins of a dairy.

The old stone mill stands beside the river, its walls still true but its roof falling. Two sets of millstones are in place, resting where they once operated on wheat and corn. Most of the machinery has vanished, but discarded millstones lie outside the mill. The wall on the side away from the river is covered with inscriptions put there by Federal soldiers in August, 1863.

The first sale by the Lees of any of the Greenview property took place in 1810, when Willis Lee alienated his patrimony, the aforementioned one hundred twenty-seven acres. By 1816 this parcel had passed to Lewis Jennings, in whose family it remained for many years, and in 1824 Hancock⁵ Lee and Susan Richards, his wife, conveyed to the same person a contiguous slice amounting to ninety-five acres. Elizabeth Sangster, a sister of Hancock⁵ Lee, in 1854 conveyed an acre of land "near the site of John Fox's old shop on the hill," to trustees for the building of a church. And in 1856 Fanny Lee sold sixty-three acres, including the mill, to John M. Fant, who had acquired the Jennings estate in 1846. Thus matters stood until after the Civil War, when a new figure, in the person of Enoch Jeffries, appeared on the scene.

Anna Lee Eustace

We go back now to Anna and Elizabeth, the two daughters of the first Hancock. They were members of the third generation, and sisters of Hancock³ Lee (Hancock, Jr.). Anna Lee was born before 1682, outlived two husbands, and reached the age of seventy-five. She had thirteen children and left many descendants.

Modern historians have commended the skill exercised by the men of the Lee family in selecting their wives. Anna is an example of what a young girl could do in those days. By her marriage to William Armistead of Eastmost River, Matthews County, Anna became the sister-in-law of "King" Carter, Ralph Wormeley, and William Churchill, the cotillon leaders of the Rappahannock in that era. By

this marriage she had a daughter, Mary, who married Philip Lightfoot, member of the Council, and friend and cousin of Thomas Lee of Stratford. William Armistead died in 1711, leaving Anna with six children; she then married William Eustace, who died in 1740. From this second union there were the sons William, Hancock, and Isaac Eustace.

Hancock Eustace was a signer of the Westmoreland Resolves in 1766. William Eustace (1729-1800) was one of the founders of Fauquier. He was living on Elk Run at the time the county was formed in 1759 and was also one of the original justices when the County Court was organized in the same year. He served as sheriff in 1769, a much coveted and well-paid position of influence at that time, and during the Revolutionary War he was a captain in the Second Virginia Regiment. But it is through Isaac Eustace, the third son, that the story gets back to Greenview.

Isaac Eustace was married in 1757 to Agatha Conway, and probably lived in Stafford County. A hundred and twenty-one years later, in 1876, their great-great-granddaughter, Mary Isham Randolph Jeffries, married a Dr. George H. Chewning of Fredericksburg. (The Jeffries pedigree may be found in the sketch of the Conway family in Hayden's *Virginia Genealogies*.) Following the marriage the bride's father, Enoch Jeffries, Jr., acquired two hundred sixty-nine acres of the old Greenview estate, including the mansion, which he held in trust for his daughter (*Fauquier Deeds*, 68, 214, 218). To this tract her husband, Dr. Chewning, added two hundred fifty-five good Lee acres, bringing the joint holding of husband and wife to a total of five hundred twenty-four acres.

Now the curious thing is that Enoch Jeffries, Jr., bought his two hundred sixty-nine acres from the descendants of Hancock⁴ Lee, who by that time were living in far-off Missouri. They were the heirs of Hancock's second son, Thomas Ludwell Lee (not to be confused with his relative of the same name, son of Thomas Lee of Stratford), who, after his marriage, had moved to Woodford County, Kentucky, and then on to Missouri. Except for one daughter, Matilda, who married Thomas T. Gaskins of Stafford County and stayed behind, all the rest of Thomas Ludwell Lee's children went with him to Missouri. To Lafayette County went his son Thomas, his daughter Jennie, wife of Charles N. Beale, and another daughter, May, wife of William T. Anderson. To Johnson County went a son, Edwin G.

Lee, and wife, Ann. And to distant Atchison County went another daughter, Elizabeth, wife of John N. Carter. It was from this place of safety that these heirs of Thomas L. Lee sold the Greenview lands to Enoch Jeffries, Jr., himself a descendant of Anna Lee, sister of Hancock³ Lee.

In 1929 the final chapter in the story of Greenview was written; Mary Jeffries et al. sold five hundred fifteen acres of the old Lee estate, including the mansion, to Mr. D. P. Kelley, the present owner. At the same time, the paneling around the old fireplace was sold to Mr. Rockefeller for use in Williamsburg. There, in front of the Governor's Palace, stands a dependency known as the Governor's Office. The two fine fireplaces within this building are adorned with the mantels and panels from Greenview, the Fauquier home of Hancock⁴ Lee, a Kentucky pioneer.

Elizabeth Lee Taylor

These sketches of some of the descendants of the first Hancock Lee are concluded with the line of his daughter, Elizabeth, sister of Anna Lee Eustace and Hancock³ Lee. She was married first to Swan Jones, who died in 1734; her second husband was Zachary Taylor, of that part of Spotsylvania now known as Orange. They lived in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg.

Hancock Taylor, their son, with his brother Richard, and two other Virginians, in 1769 descended the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans, returning to Virginia by sea. Hancock Taylor was an early pioneer and surveyor in Kentucky, and it was on an expedition there around 1774 with his cousins, Willis and Hancock⁴ Lee, that he was killed and scalped by the Indians, Willis Lee meeting the same fate two years later.

Colonel Richard Taylor, second son of Elizabeth Lee and Zachary Taylor, was a brave and gallant soldier in the Revolution, and fought with Washington at Trenton. After residing quietly on his plantation in Virginia for a few years after the war, he moved with his family to Kentucky in 1785, when his son, Zachary, was one year old, and there he filled many important and responsible positions. He was one of the framers of the constitution of that state, represented Jefferson County and Louisville in both branches of the legislature for many years, and was a member of the electoral colleges which voted for Jefferson,

Madison, Monroe, and Clay. He had five sons: Hancock, Zachary, George, William, and Joseph; and three daughters: Elizabeth, Sarah, and Emily.

The son Zachary was to become a famous military figure and President of the United States. This descendant of the pioneering Lees of Ditchley was born on September 24, 1784, in Orange County, Virginia; he grew up on the frontier, when his father moved westward, and the army was his ambition from childhood. He early showed an aptitude for the profession of arms, and when he received a commission in 1808, his career, which was to be a brilliant one, was begun. It continued, from his days of Indian fighting, to the time when he retired from military life, a General of the Army and hero of the Mexican War. His rugged character and appearance and his readiness to meet all emergencies earned for him the nickname of "Old Rough and Ready." After the war he had planned to settle down to the life of a country gentleman, but this was not to be realized, for the political leaders saw in him ready material for the presidential campaign, and in November, 1848, he was elected—a president who had never voted, had no political party, and therefore no political enemies. But his stay in the White House was short, for he died on July 10, 1850, a little over a year after his inauguration. His wife was Sarah, a daughter of William Strother of Stafford County, Virginia. One of his daughters was the first wife of Jefferson Davis; his son Richard, known as Dick Taylor, carried the military tradition of the family into the third generation. He served with his father in Mexico, and had a distinguished Civil War record, rising to the rank of lieutenant general.

Appendix D

THE MISSING CHILDREN OF RICHARD LEE OF DITCHLEY

THE children of Richard Lee of Ditchley who were mentioned by name in his will were his daughters Elizabeth, Mary, Judith, and Lettice, and his son, Kendall. But the administrative records of his estate show that he had two additional children. In 1929 two genealogists, working on the supposition that the missing children were probably girls who had married and moved away, set to work at Heathsville, the county seat of Northumberland, where much material concerning the early generations of Lees is to be found. Their research turned up one of the lost children—a daughter, Anne, who married Edward Kerr, of a well-known Eastern Shore family, settled in Isle of Wight County on the south side of the James, and left descendants.

Meanwhile Cazenove Lee in 1922 had started an extensive research on a Stephen Lee of Kentucky, based on what he regarded as strong circumstantial evidence that this person was a son of Richard Lee of Ditchley. In anticipation of finding more conclusive proof, he prepared a chart of Stephen Lee's descendants, but abandoned this project in 1930 when word came in that year from a lady in Alabama, claiming descent from Captain Thomas Lee of Lee Valley, Tennessee, a Revolutionary soldier whose Bible record read as follows: "Thomas Lee, son of Richard Lee and Judith Steptoe Lee, was born at Ditchley, Northumberland County, Virginia, December 3rd, 1739."

This seemed reasonable evidence that this Thomas was the other missing child of Richard, but in 1951 Mrs. Robert M. Templeman, genealogist for the Lee Society, reopened the case of Stephen Lee. She studied Cazenove Lee's files, entered into correspondence with a number of persons, and found enough new evidence to convince her

that Stephen was indeed a son of Richard of Ditchley. One significant item was the discovery that Judith Steptoe, wife of Richard, was the daughter of Anthony Steptoe and Lucy Stephen. Judith and Richard's first son had been named Kendall for his paternal grandmother, hence the logic of naming a later son for the maternal side of the house. That Stephen was a son of Richard seemed a certainty, even though he was not mentioned in the will. This could have been due to his having received earlier financial assistance from his father, which seems likely in view of the fact that records indicate that Stephen married young and was buying large tracts of land in Fairfax as early as 1755.

There still remained, however, the puzzle of Captain Thomas Lee. Obviously both Thomas and Stephen could not be the missing children, since one of the two had already been identified as a daughter, Anne. This point was clarified in May, 1952, by a letter from Mr. W. F. Franke of Birmingham, which definitely eliminated Thomas. Mr. Franke, himself a descendant of this Thomas Lee, had not been satisfied with the evidence furnished by the Bible record in 1930, and had later purchased the Bible from the estate of the person who had quoted it in establishing Thomas as a child of Richard of Ditchley. Upon examination it was found that the entries concerning Thomas Lee had apparently been added later, from hazy memory and wishful thinking, as is all too often the case. Mr. Franke had also established, through documentary proof in the North Carolina Court Records of 1768, that this Thomas was the son of a John Lee whose will was probated in that same year. He went on to say that he had submitted these findings to Cazenove Lee just prior to the latter's death in 1945, and that Mr. Lee had accepted them as authentic and unquestionable. There had been some amount of correspondence between the two, and Mr. Franke has copies of the letters he wrote Mr. Lee, together with the latter's replies. Had death not intervened Mr. Lee undoubtedly would have published the correction regarding Thomas, and reopened the research on Stephen Lee.

—THE EDITOR.

Appendix E

THE DEED OF CONVEYANCE OR TITLE TO STRATFORD

THIS DEED, made the 19th day of July, in the year 1929, between Charles E. Stuart and Clara D. Stuart, his wife, and Lydia Ann Stuart, widow of Dr. R. H. Stuart, deceased, parties of the first part, all of Westmoreland County, State of Virginia, and the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation, Incorporated, a corporation duly organized and chartered under the laws of the State of New York, party of the second part;

WHEREAS, the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation, Incorporated, desiring to restore and convert "Stratford" into a shrine of National Pilgrimage, under the plan initiated by Mrs. Charles D. Lanier, President of the William Alexander, Jr. Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy of Greenwich, Connecticut, has contracted for the purchase of said estate and has made the cash payment agreed upon:

NOW, THEREFORE, THIS DEED WITNESSETH:

That for and in consideration of the sum of Two Hundred and Forty Thousand Dollars (\$240,000.00) in hand paid or secured to be paid at or before the sealing and delivery of this Deed, by the party of the second part unto the said parties of the first part, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, the said parties of the first part, as aforesaid, do hereby grant and convey, with general warranty of title, unto the said party of the second part, all that certain tract or parcel of land, situated in the Montross Magisterial District, Westmoreland County, Virginia, containing by survey made in April, 1929, by Joseph N. Starkey, Civil Engineer, of Rockville, Maryland, which said plot is hereby made a part of this Deed and is intended to be recorded herewith, a total of Eleven Hundred and Four and Twenty-Eight One-Hundredths (1104.28) acres, be the same more or less, the said tract of land being sold in the gross and not by the acre, being that portion of the Stratford plantation in

the said County of Westmoreland embraced within the hereinafter described lines, courses, and distances, and consisting of the following several tracts or parcels of land, to-wit, "Kentucky," "The Mill Field," "Turkey Neck," "The Bank Farm," "The Mill Property," or by whatever name or names the same is known, and all that tract containing 519.25 acres, as described in a Deed of partition from Richard H. Stuart to Charles E. Stuart, admitted to record in the Clerk's Office of Westmoreland County, Virginia, on July 29, 1882, in Deed Book No. 42, Pages 242-3; beginning for the same at a point in the centre of the Shaw's Mount and Cunioman Road and at the end of the fifth line of parcel No. 3, as described in a Deed made the 13th day of June, 1884, by Richard H. Stuart to Charles E. Stuart and Ruth Stuart, and of record in the Deed Book No. 46, Page 41, and running thence with said road to include the above-mentioned conveyance, as follows:

[Then follows a lengthy survey, containing the following description of the tract reserved by Mr. Stuart: "then leaving said road and crossing said lands so as to exclude a 60-acre parcel of land reserved by Charles E. Stuart and wife and running parallel with and 210 feet east of the present entrance road and passing over a stone on the north side of the County road N. 6 45' W. 1650 feet to a stone, thence N. 83 15' E. 750 feet to a stone, thence N. 6 45' W. 600 feet to a stone, thence N. 83 15' E. 518.58 feet to a stone, thence S. 6 45' E. 2341.40 feet, passing over a stone on the north side of said County road to a point in the centre thereof."]

The parties of the first part, for themselves, their heirs, and assigns do hereby covenant and agree that they will not use the sixty acres above referred to, specifically reserved by them, for any purpose which would not be in entire harmony and accord with the general plan of improvement of "Stratford Hall" as contemplated by the purchaser thereof; and also for themselves, their heirs and assigns, specifically agree that no building will be erected thereon until first passed upon and approved by the architect selected by the Board of Directors of the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation, Incorporated.

And the said parties of the first part, for themselves, their heirs and assigns, covenant and agree that in the event they shall at any future time determine to sell the aforesaid sixty acres of land, or any part thereof, that they will give to the party of the second part, or its successor or assigns, the right or privilege of purchasing the same at such price as may be mutually agreed upon; and that no sale of the said sixty acres, or any part thereof, shall be made to any other party until the said party of the second part shall have been given the option to purchase the same.

The said parties of the first part expressly reserve from this conveyance the family burial ground of the Stuart family, as at present laid out and occupied by graves of the said Stuart family, embraced within the boundaries above designated, and all growing crops on said land with the privilege of harvesting and removing the same, and pasturage for cattle until January 1, 1930.

The said Charles Stuart, for himself and his direct descendants, reserves the right to representation on any Board of Control of Permanent Organization owning the property hereby conveyed, this right to continue until failure of such direct descendants, and the said Charles E. Stuart, should he so elect, reserves the right to remain at "Stratford Hall" and use the same as a home for himself and family, rent free, while the improvements thereto contemplated by the said party of the second part are being made, but not to exceed a period of three years from the date of this conveyance, such occupancy, however, not to interfere with the architect's plans for contemplated improvements; provided no radical changes or substantial alterations shall be made in the main dwelling, until the deferred payment of the purchase price be reduced to \$100,000, except by mutual agreement.

The property hereby conveyed being the same, with the exception of sixty acres thereof, as that embraced in that certain Deed, dated November 5, 1919, and of record in the Clerk's Office of Westmoreland County, in Deed Book No. 83, Pages 500-1, from R. H. Stuart to the undersigned Chas. E. Stuart, which said conveyance was made subject to the dower rights therein of Lydia A. Stuart, wife of the said R. H. Stuart, who hereby unites in this Deed for the purpose of releasing and conveying unto the said party of the second part all her dower rights therein.

The aforesaid grantors covenant that they have the right to convey the said land to the grantee; that the said grantee shall have quiet possession of the said land, free from all encumbrances; that they have done no act to encumber the said land; and that they will execute such further assurances of title of said land as may be requisite.

WITNESS the following signatures and seals this day and year hereinafter written.

Chas. E. Stuart (Seal)

Clara D. Stuart (Seal)

Lydia Ann Stuart (Seal)

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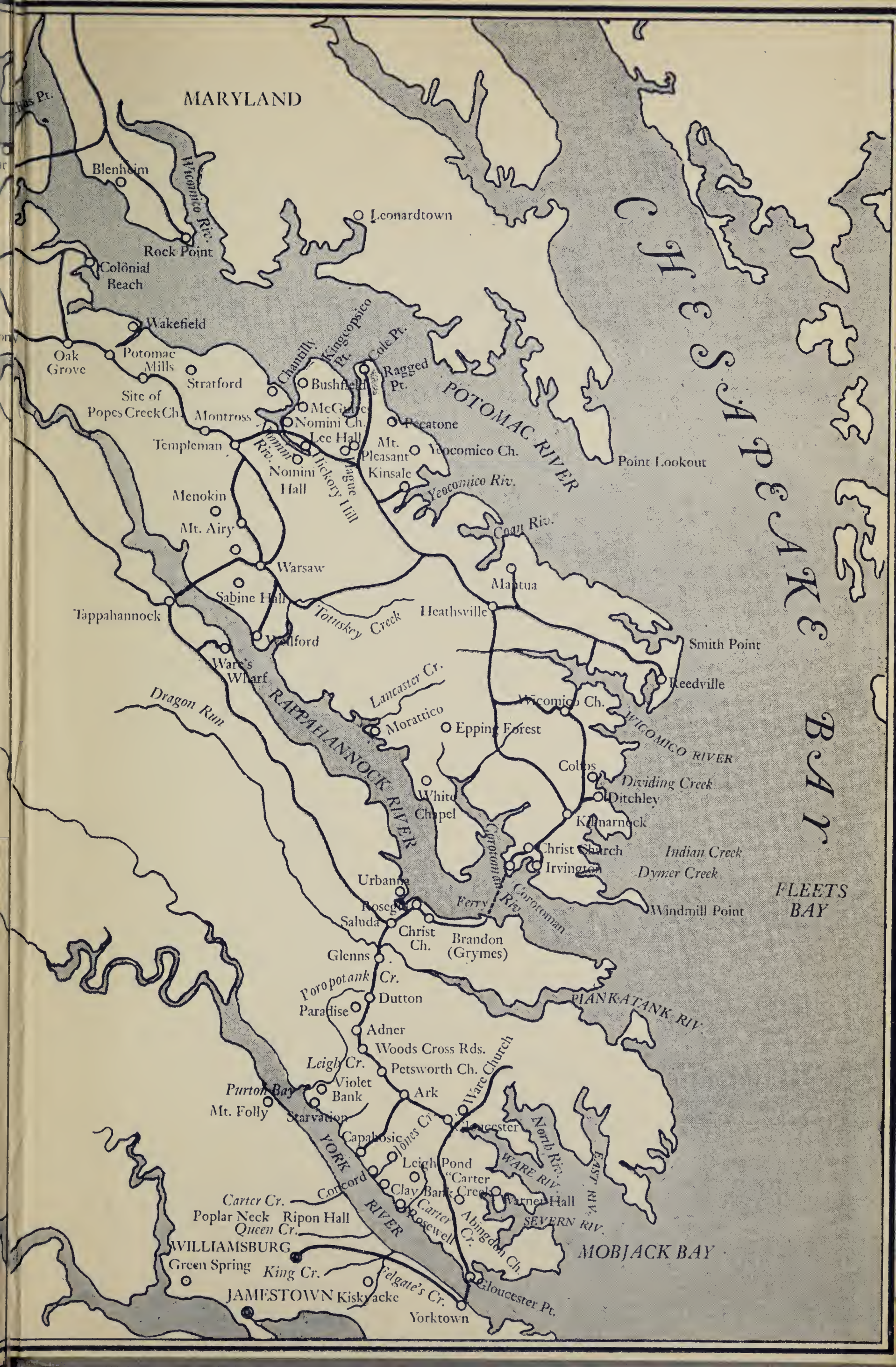
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Scale in Miles





MARYLAND

CHESAPEAKE BAY

FLEETS BAY

MOBJACK BAY

Blenheim
Rock Point
Colonial Reach

Wakefield
Potomac Mills
Stratford
Site of Popes Creek Ch.

Montross
Templeman
Menokin
Mt. Airy

Warsaw
Sabine Hall
Tappahannock
Ware's Wharf

Dragon Run
Waldford

White Chapel
Urban

Rosega
Saluda
Glenns
Poropotank Cr.

Paradise
Adner
Leigh Cr.
Purton Bay
Mt. Folly

Starvation
Capahosic
Concord
Carter Cr.
Poplar Neck
Ripon Hall
Queen Cr.

WILLIAMSBURG
Green Spring
King Cr.
JAMESTOWN
Kiskacke
Yorktown

Leonardtown

Chantilly
Kingcopsico
Cole Pt.
Ragged Pt.

Bushfield
McGrady
Nomini Ch.
Lee Hall
Mt. Pleasant
Kinsale

Yeocomico Ch.
Yeocomico Riv.
Coal Riv.
Heathsville

Mahtua
Smith Point
Reedville
Wicomico Ch.

Epping Forest
Wicomico RIVER
Colbos
Dividing Creek
Ditchley

Kilmarnock
Christ Church
Irvington
Indian Creek
Dymmer Creek

Windmill Point
Ferry
Corotoman
Brandon (Grymes)

Christ Ch.
Glenns
Dutton
Paradise
Adner
Woods Cross Rds.
Petsworth Ch.

Ark
Ware Church
Leigh Pond
Carter
Clay Bank
Carter
Rosewell
Abingdon Ch.
Gloucester Pt.

POTOMAC RIVER

POTOMAC RIVER

POTOMAC RIVER

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WICOMICO RIVER

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